

1789.

D. of Grafton A.

DISCOURSE

OF THE

Necessity and Usefulness

OF THE

Christian Revelation ;

By Reason of the

CORRUPTIONS of the PRINCIPLES

OF

NATURAL RELIGION

Among Jews and Heathens.

By DANIEL WHITBY, D. D. and
Chantor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum.

L O N D O N :

Printed by W. B. for A. and J. Churchill at the
Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row. 1705.

mod sh

16



A N

Advertisement

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

I Do with some Reluctancy Discourse
in this Treatise of those impure
Practices which obtained among the
Heathens, and which on that account
may be offensive to chaste Ears; but
then considering that all the Fathers
who have written Apologies for Chri-
stianity, or Confutations of the Religion
of the Heathens, from Justin Martyr
to Theodoret, have been as full in
those Discoveries, I thought their Piety
and Prudence might be a just Apology
for doing the same thing, to the same
good end; especially, when the Subject
must

must have been imperfect, had this
been omitted. This is the Treatise men-
tioned in the Preface to the Gospels,
and now submitted to the Judgment of
the Courteous Reader, by

His Friend and Servant,

D. W.

A D I S

*must have been imperfect, had this
been omitted. This is the Treatise men-
tioned in the Preface to the Gospels,
and now submitted to the Judgment of
the Courteous Reader, by*

His Friend and Servant,

D. W.

A D I S



DISCOURSE
OF THE
NECESSITY
OF THE
Christian Revelation.

CHAP. I.

The CONTENTS.

All Laws of Nature, and of Natural Religion, presuppose a Deity presiding over us, and flow from the Consideration of such a Being. § 1. These Laws, as far as they

The Necessity of

respect Religion, and may be known by Reason, are stiled the Principles of Natural Religion. § 2. In what sense they may be said to be implanted in the Heart of Man. *ibid.* The Proof of such Laws of Nature from Scripture, and Reason. § 3. The Heads to which the Heathens, and Civilians, have reduced these Laws of Nature, are, 1. The Law of Justice. 2. Of Truth. 3. Of Humanity. 4. The Law of Natural Affection. 5. The Law of Gratitude. § 4. The evident Truth of these Laws demonstrated from Reason. *Ibid.* An Answer to the Argument against these Laws of Nature, from the Practice of some barbarous Nations, and from the Sentiments of some Philosophers. § 5. The Laws of Nature seem not to be derived from Man, considered only as a Social Creature, but also from the Consideration of him as a Creature capable of Religion. § 6. Whence it follows, 1. That he who hath made him so, requires some Duty from him. 2. That he will reward his faithful Performance, and punish his Neglect of it. *Ibid.* Hence ariseth his Obligation to all the particular Duties of Natural Religion, § 7.

Religion being stiled by the Greeks *Θεοσεβεία*, the Worship of a Deity, and having its very Name, either, as *Lactantius* saith, a *religando*,

gando, from the Obligation it lays upon us to obey his Laws, or, as *Cicero*, from *relegendo*, from ruminating upon, and recollecting them; all Religion, and all Laws of Nature must suppose a Deity who doth require to be worshipped according to some Laws; for certain it is,

§ I. 1. Negatively, that if there be nothing naturally Good, and so required, or Evil, and so forbidden by the Deity, there can be neither God, nor Devil, good, nor evil Spirit; for Justice, Holiness, and Goodness, are the essential Characters of the Divinity, and all Men, who believe there is a God, do own that he is holy, just, and good; whereas it is a contradiction to believe there is a God of Righteousness and Justice, if there be nothing just, and righteous; or a God of Holiness, and Goodness, if there be nothing good, and holy; or to say he is an Hater of Iniquity, if there be nothing which deserves that Name; an evil Spirit must also be a Contradiction in the Terms, nor can he be supposed to tempt, provided there be nothing evil he can tempt us to.

2ly, 'Tis also certain affirmatively, that if there be a God who made us, and gave us all things we enjoy, if we derive our Beings, our Preservation, and all our Blessings from him, who is the true and only

God, it is highly reasonable to conceive, that he expects we should *glorifie him as God*, and should be thankful to him for all the Blessings we have received at his hands; again, since Justice, Holiness, and Goodness internally considered, seem only to import a love unto, and propensity to do what is holy, just, and good, and consequently an hatred of, and averfation to the contrary; seeing all these are relative Perfections, and only can be exercised by doing what is just, and good, and suitable to his Holiness, to others, or by requiring them to do so; if God hath no regard to Justice, Holiness, and Goodness, there is no cause to say he is either holy, just, or good: Now if he have made no Laws to require us, or no Provisions to encourage us, to live holily, righteously, and charitably in this present World, or to deter us from the greatest Injustice, Inhumanity, and Profaneness, what regard can we think he hath for the one, or hatred of the other? If he hath established such Laws, or laid such Obligations on us, then must it be acknowledged that there are Laws of Nature obliging us to be holy, and pious towards God, just and charitable towards our Neighbour; nor can the contrary be asserted by any one, but he must believe that a God of all Power will do nothing for his Creatures; that he who is necessarily good, yea *optimus*, the best

best of Beings, will do no good to any ; that to him who is immutably just, and righteous, good and holy, there is nothing acceptable, and well-pleasing ; or if there be, he will have no respect to them that do it : For were it otherwise, he must have given all Men Laws obliging them to do what is well-pleasing, and to avoid what is displeasing in his sight, and reason to expect good or evil from him, as they comply with, or transgress them, and so must be their Governour by Law at present, and their Judge hereafter.

In a word, if God would be worshipped, served, and obeyed by all his rational Creatures, he must have given them sufficient knowledge of that Being whom they are to serve, worship, and obey, and of that Service which he will accept, and of those Laws which he requires them to obey, and must have given them Abilities to do his Will, and Motives sufficient to encourage them thus to serve, and to obey him ; for all Mens Reason must convince them, that a righteous God will not require any Person, in order to his acceptance of him, to do that Good, or to avoid that Evil which he hath given him no means to know, no ability to do, or no motive to perform ; for what I cannot either know to be my Duty, or knowing cannot do, I cannot be obliged to do, and what I have no motive to do

or to avoid, I can have no just ground or reason to do, or to avoid,

§ II. These Laws, as far as we are capable of knowing them by Reason and Reflection, which are the Faculties congenial to our Nature, are stiled the Principles of Natural Religion; those Articles of Christian Faith which Nature was not able to discover without a Revelation, *viz.* the Godhead discriminated by the Relations of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Incarnation, Birth, Passion, Resurrection of the Son of God, his Intercession, and Session at the Right-hand of God, and his Appointment to be the Judge of all Men, the Inhabitation of the Holy Spirit in the Hearts of the Faithful, the Calling of the Gentiles to be Fellow-heirs with the believing Jews, the Resurrection of the Body, the Beatifick Vision, and the Judgment to come, being the proper Articles of Revealed Religion, which Human Reason without a Revelation could never have found out; it is thence evident that the Practical Precepts of Christianity, for the most part, are only the Results of Natural Religion, drawn forth to our advantage in plain Rules adapted to the Capacity of the meanest, and recommended to our Practice from the most excellent Examples of our God and Saviour.

More-

Moreover, these Laws of Nature may be said to be implanted in the Hearts of Men in general, not that God hath put any innate Ideas, or natural Impressions of them on the Souls of all Men, for then there cannot be any need of Reasoning, or making Inferences, to deduce one of them from the other, whereas the Apostle plainly seems to found them on the λογισμοί, *i. e.* the Reasonings of Men, *Rom. 2. 14.* but they are rather said to be implanted in us, because we have within us that Principle of Reason, Judgment, and Reflection, which when they are propounded to us, and considered, enables us immediately to discern the truth and equity of them, and how apparently they tend to the inward satisfaction, peace, and quiet of our Minds, and to the common interest and welfare of Mankind, and so that they were certainly designed for their good, and therefore fit to be done by them.

Now that God actually hath given to Mankind such Laws, as I have proved already from his Attributes, so is it farther evident;

§ III. 1. From those words of the Apostle Peter, *Verily I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him,* Acts 10. 34. Whence it is evident,

(1.) That some of all Nations, owning the true God, as did *Cornelius*, who gave occasion to these words, not only might, but actually did fear God, and work Righteousness; and otherwise they very ill deserved the Titles given to the Profelytes of the Gate, *viz.* that they were pious, and devout Men, and Men *that feared God*; which Titles I have shewed to belong to them, *Note* on *Acts*, 10. 2. Nor could St. Peter perceive, that God was *no Respector of Persons*, on the account of a thing which never did, nor could happen; and tho' it be commonly said, that there is no respect of Persons in *gratis*, in things given, yet this is only true when no Duty is required, no Service is demanded in order to that Gift; where therefore God requires under Penalty, that I should do him such a Service, if he gives the Grace necessary to the performance of that Service to another in like Circumstances, and not to me, there he is a Respector of Persons; and where he makes a Promise of Acceptance, as he must do where he requires Duty, since I can have no motive to perform that Duty which will not be accepted, there the acceptance of another before me standing upon equal Terms with him, is an accepting of Persons: Nor, (2.) Could St. Peter otherwise have proved from the Example of *Cornelius's* Alms accepted by God, that he was *no Respector*

specter of Persons, had not God some way obliged himself, without distinction of Persons, or Nations, to accept every one that worketh Righteousness: It therefore is a manifest absurdity to say, that God requires the same Duty of all *Christians, Jews, or Heathens*, upon Condition of Reward, or under such a Penalty, and yet is *no Respector of Persons*, if under equal Circumstances he affords Grace sufficient, to obtain that Reward, and avoid that Penalty, to one, and will not do it to another, since this most plainly is, in Matters of Rewards and Punishments of the highest nature, to have respect to one above another, without regard to the worthiness of the one, or the unworthiness of the other.

2ly, This may be argued from those words of St. Paul, *He that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him*, Heb. 11. 6. whence it is obvious to observe, (1.) That all Men may diligently seek God so as to please him, if they will, since otherwise it cannot be their Duty to seek to please him, it being no Man's Duty to do that which he cannot do. (2.) That if they do so, they shall be rewarded by him, and so God must be willing both that they should seek him, and that they should be rewarded for so doing. And, (3.) That the *Heathens* may have grounds sufficient to induce

duce them to believe that they should be rewarded for serving him diligently according to that Light which God had given them; deny the first Inference, and you exempt the *Heathens* from any obligation to seek that God they could not please; deny the second or third Inference, and you deprive them of any motive to endeavour to do that which is pleasing in his sight, this being that which *Heathens* by the Light of Nature taught, that if Piety and Profit did not go together, Piety could not be preserved; as I have shewed in the *Note* upon that place. And,

3dly, This seemeth evident from what the *Apostle* hath declared touching the Gentiles who had not the Law, *viz.* (1.) That God would judge them according to their Works; for a righteous God will only judge them for the neglect of that which they knew to be their Duty, and might have done but did not; and for the doing that which they knew to be evil, and might have avoided, and did not: And both these things suppose, that they had both sufficient grounds, even from the Light of Nature, to know, and to perform their Duty: For, as *Origen* saith, if God condemned the *Gentiles* because they *held the truth in unrighteousness, and when they knew God, did not glorifie him as God, neither were thankful*; it seems agreeable to Reason

son to conceive, that had they done what they culpably neglected, and might have done, *i. e.* had they glorified him as God, and been thankful, they would have done what was acceptable to God, and fit to be rewarded by his Goodness. (2.) When he adds, That *the Gentiles who have not the Law of Moses* written in Tables of Stone, *do by Nature*, *i. e.* by virtue of the Law of Nature written in their Hearts, *the things contained in the Law*; he must insinuate, that they had the Natural Principles of Good and Evil, by their own Reason and Discretion discovered to them; hence when they did that which was naturally evil, their Conscience, saith he, did accuse them for it, they *knowing that they who did such things were worthy of death*; whence it is evident, that they must have both the knowledge of all the Principles of Natural Religion, and an ability to perform them, and to avoid those Sins against the Light of Nature, for which their Conscience did accuse them; for a Conscience rightly informed will accuse no Man for doing what he was not able to avoid. Again, when Conscience in them is said *ἀπολογεῖν*, to apologize, or plead for them; since Conscience evidently doth imply the knowledge of a Rule by which our Actions are to be directed, and that our Actions have been done according to, or in repugnance to that Rule

Rule, can it otherwise plead for them than by an inward sense that they have acted suitably to that Rule, or to that knowledge of their Duty towards God or Man, they from the Light of Nature, or the Convictions of their Reason, had discovered?

I know the *Atheists* and *Epicureans* say, That all these Workings of the Conscience which we find within us, are only the Effects of superstitious Education, and of false Ideas suggested to us from our Infancy; But,

1st, They who say this, affirm what no Man can have just Reason to believe; for that which hath its rise from Superstition, must be the fruit of Error and Mistake: Now if it be an Error we cannot discern to be so, what Reason can we have to judge that these Effects of Conscience are the Result of Error? If Reason can discern the Error, it must by doing so correct it, and free the Conscience from these supposed Effects of Superstition, even as Christianity embraced freed all the *Heathen* Converts entirely from the dread of those false Gods they formerly had, by their Education, been induced to worship; whereas the Experience of all Mankind, and of these Enemies of all Religion, shews they are not able wholly to exempt themselves from these Misbodings of their Conscience; at least they cannot do it, but either,

1st, By

1st, By being unthinking and continual
Sots, scarce ever fresh enough to entertain
one sober thought, or make a serious Reflec-
tion on their Actions, and so their Con-
science is benumb'd only because their Rea-
son first is so: Or,
2^{dy}, By bribing their Reason by a long
Course of Profaneness and Sensuality, to
use its utmost Efforts to stifle the Convi-
ctions of their Conscience, it being now
their highest Interest that there should be
no God to punish them, and that those
Workings of their Conscience, which are
now become only terrifying and condem-
ning, and which can only fill them with
dreadful Expectations of Divine Vengeance,
should be laid asleep: And yet,
3^{ly}, Tho' Interest be now so strong a-
gainst them, and that little Peace and Quiet
they can have at present, depends on their
Imagination that they may be false, yet can
they not advance to any tolerable exempti-
on from these Checks of Conscience, with-
out many sharp Conflicts with the Dictates
of their Reason, and many Struglings with
the Impressions it hath laid upon them;
tis then no Argument that these Effects of
Conscience are not natural, because they
may at last be conquered: For is there any
thing more common than to abate and al-
ter that natural aversion which we have
to some Meat or Drink, or other Objects of
our

our Senses ? Do they not own that there is in all Men a natural aversion to Pain and Sickness, Contempt and Poverty, and a strong Bias in our Natures to worldly Pleasures and Grandeur, and sensual Enjoyments ? And yet 'tis evident from History, and from Experience, that more *Philosophers* and *Christians* have conquered that natural abhorrence which we have to Pain and Sickness, and even Death it self, have chosen Poverty, and lived in a generous Contempt of worldly Pleasures and Grandeur, than there be Atheistical Spirits who have been able to exempt themselves from all the dreadful Fruits of a condemning Conscience, and the uncomfortable Attendants of a vicious Life ; how therefore can it follow from their supposed Conquest of these Fears, and their Exemption, for a Season, from these Lashes of a guilty Conscience, that they are not as natural as is our aversion to Pain and Sickness, and to all those other Acts of Self-denial, which Philosophy and Christian Prudence will enable us to perform ?

2ly, There be some Principles of Natural Religion, which cannot rationally be ascribed to any false Ideas suggested by our Education, as *v. g.* these Rules and Principles of the *Pythagoreans*, *Platonists*, and *Stoics*, and all Philosophers who own'd a Providence, and which yet never can be true, unless there be some certain Principles

ples of Good and Evil ; as v. g.

1st, That he can never be neglected by the Deity; who is desirous to be a virtuous and good Man, and as like to God, as he can : Or that the good Man living, or dying, can suffer no evil, because the Gods never neglect his Affairs ; which Proposition flows from the Natural Idea of Divine Goodness.

2^{ly}, That if Piety and Profit do not go together, Piety would be preserved in none, because nothing is so natural to us as to affect and pursue our own advantage, so that if you place what is holy and just, in what is profitable, you preserve them ; but if you separate what is just and honest from what is profitable, you destroy what is just and honest, as being weighed down by profit ; which Rule depends upon this plainest Principle of Reason, that we can

* Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ θεῶν ποιεῖται ἀμελῆς ὅς ἐν προθυμίᾳ θέλει δίκαιον γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτηδεύων ἀρετῇ εἰς ὅσον δυνάσθων ἀνθρώπων ὁμοιωθεὶς τῷ θεῷ. Plato de Repub. l. 10. p. 760.

Ἐν τῷ ἐν τούτῳ διανοιεῖται δὲ ἀληθές, ὅτι ἐκ ἑσῶ ἀνδρείᾳ ἀσπασθὲν κακὸν εἶδεν ἔτε ζῶντι ἔτε τελευτήσαντι, καὶ ἀμελῆς ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ τέτων πρᾶγμα. Iamblic. Protrept. p. 84. Socrat. Apol. p. 31. D. Cicero Tusc. Qu. 1. N. 87.

* Πᾶν ζῶον ἐδενὶ ἕτως ὡκείῳ ὥς τῷ ἰδίῳ συμφέροντι, διὰ τούτο ἂν μὴ ἐν ταύτῃ τις δὴ τὸ συμφέρον, καὶ τὸ ὅσιον καὶ τὸ καλόν, σώζει ταῦτα πάντα, ἂν δ' ἀλλαχὲ τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλαχὲ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον, οἷχε ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ἀσπασθὲν ὑπὸ τῷ συμφέροντι. Arrian. l. 1. c. 27. p. 53. l. 2. c. 22. p. 243. l. 3. c. 3. p. 269. Simpl. in Epictet. p. 80.

pursue

pursue nothing, and therefore neither Piety or Vertue, without the Motive of some Good to be received by so doing.

3ly, That the Deity loves Vertue, and the Effects of it, and hates Vice, and is displeased at it, and therefore will be an Enemy to the wicked Man, but a Friend to the good, dispensing good things to the latter, but evil to the wicked, which is the consequence of that natural Idea we have of the Holiness and Justice of the Divine Nature, and of the natural Results of Love and Hatred; and to represent these things as false Ideas suggested by our Education, is in effect to deny that Holiness and Goodness belong to the Divine Nature, or that the Will is moved only by the apprehension of some good.

3ly, If there be nothing morally good or evil, then can we have no inward Principle directing us what to avoid, or do, to chuse or to refuse; for neither can the Will chuse, or the Desire be carried out after any thing but what is first conceived good, nor be averse from any thing but as it is conceived evil: If here it be replied, that these

ἡ τῶν θεῶν οἰκουμενὴν μὲν τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τοῖς ταύτης ἔργοις, ἀλλοτρεμενὴν δὲ τῇ κακίᾳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς πωλελλομένοις. Stob. Eclog. Eth. p. 181. Quod bonum a Deo petendum, Πάντες γὰρ εἰς μὲν ἀν φιλοῦσι, καὶ οἷς ἀν χαίρουσι, τοιαύτοις διδάσκει τ' ἀρετὰν, πρὸς εἰς δὲ ἑναντίως ἔχουσι τὰ ἀναντία. Pythag. apud Iamb. p. 89.

Desires

Desires and Aversions only respect the Good and Evils of the Body, and of this present Life, which are naturally not morally so; as *v. g.* Pain and Pleasure, Poverty and Riches, Health and Sicknes, Life and Death; I only ask, why are these things esteemed good or evil, but that we feel something of pleasure and satisfaction to the brutish appetite in the enjoyment of them; some pain, uneasiness and trouble when we want them? If then there be such Moral Actions as create greater satisfaction, ease, and pleasure to the Mind; if there be a more sensible delight in doing good, in easing the miserable, in serving him who highly hath obliged, and shew'd true Friendship to us, in acting suitably to the Dictates of Reason and of Conscience, in doing what is highly serviceable and beneficial to Mankind; if there be any Nobleness in real Goodness, a Confidence and Bravery in Innocence, an Ease in Patience, a Quiet in Contentedness of Spirit, a Rest in Peaceableness, an Excellency of Spirit in living by the Example of a Deity, a Greatness of Mind in the Contempt of sensual and worldly things; if on the other hand Vice generally produceth Horror and Anguish in the Mind, and Conscience being *burthened with its own witness, always abodeth terrible things*; if a confounding Shame, a terrifying Fear, a desponding Spirit, a di-

C

stracting

tracting Care and Anxiety of Thought, are always painful to, and do increase the Miseries of the sinful Soul; if Wickedness doth render Men base and contemptible, mean and sneaking, ashamed to own, afraid to recollect what they have done; in a word, if good Men do enjoy far greater Pleasures from a virtuous Life, than carnal Persons find in the pursuance of their brutish Lusts, if more Philosophers, and Christians, as was before observed, have conquered that natural aversion which we have to Pain and Sickness, have chosen Poverty, and lived in a generous Contempt of worldly Pleasures and Grandeur, than there be *Atheistic* Persons who have been able to exempt themselves from the amazing Terrors of a guilty Conscience; what reason have we, from what we feel, or do experience, to conclude that moral good or evil is less natural, than that which they call sensual good and evil?

§ 4. Now the Heads to which the *Heathens*, by the Light of Nature, and from them the *Civilians* have reduced these Laws of Nature, are,

1st, The Law of *Justice*, requiring us to do no hurt or damage to the innocent, in any of his Interests, Possessions, or Relations, if we can possibly avoid it, because we would not have this done to our selves:

This

This Rule the Heathens have declared thus,
*Jure natura equum est neminem cum alte-
 rius detrimento fieri locupletiores*, the Law
 of Nature doth forbid us to receive advan-
 tage to our selves by doing injury to others;
 these being the Foundations of true Justice,
 Τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ βλάπτειν μηδένα, μηδὲ
 ὠφελεῖσθαι ἑαυτῷ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ποιεῖσθαι συμφορὰς,
 to abstain from that which is anothers,
 and to hurt no body, nor to make advan-
 tage to our selves by the detriment or cala-
 mities of others: This, saith *Cicero*, is
 the Law of Nature, that no Man should
 desire that which is another's, or take it to
 himself, and that if any Man thinks he acts
 not against Nature by violating the Rights
 of others, he is not fit to be discoursed
 with, as being one, *Qui omnino hominem
 ex homine tollat*, who bereaves Man of his
 Humanity.

2dly, The Law of Truth, which doth en-
 joyn us to be faithful to all our Covenants
 and Promises, to speak the Truth from the
 Heart, without Hypocrisie and Falshood;
 for thus we would have others deal with
 us; to this end God hath given us the use
 of Speech, which if it be not the Interpre-
 ter of our Intentions, and the sincere Ex-
 pression of our Thoughts, comports not

* Pomponius de Regulis Juris, l. 206.

* De Offic. l. 3. n. 30, 32.

with the end for which it was designed ; and as for Promises and Compacts, if they do not naturally bind, all Society is dissolved, and Human Commerce ceases ; for then no Princes, or States, who lie under no Obligation to each other, can be obliged to perform their Promises, nor can their mutual Compacts be of any force ; and as for any Compacts and Promises, made by Men of the same Community, and subject to the same Laws, if they lie under no Obligation from their own Consent to make such Promises and Compacts, they cannot possibly oblige them on the account of any Promise or Compact they have made, but only by virtue of some Penalty the Laws have laid upon the Violaters of them.

3dly, The Law of *Humanity*, which prompts us to do good to others, when we can do it without considerable damage to our selves, or others : Consider only, say the Moralists, thou art a Man, and that will certainly incline thee to all the Offices of Kindness to Men, we being framed by Nature, Πρὸς κοινωνίᾳ, καὶ πρὸς συνουσίᾳ, for mutual society and help, or to be communicative, and labour for the good of one another : Hence these are reckoned by them among the natural Precepts of Humanity, to ^s shew the Way to him that hath wan-

^s Apud Stob. Ecl. Eth. p. 186.

ded from it, and a Fountain to the thirsty Traveller ; to give Food to him that is ready to perish for Hunger ; and to succour him, as we are able, who is in danger to be slain by a wild Beast ; and would all Men, ^h say they, be thus continually helpful to one another, no Man would stand in need of Fortune.

Now all these three are plainly laid down as Rules of Nature by the Holy Scripture ; For, saith the Wise Man, *Let not mercy and truth forsake thee, bind them about thy neck, write them upon the tables of thine heart, so shalt thou find favour*, Prov. 3. 3, 4. *κ' περ νοῦς καὶ ἡσυχία*, and provide things honourable in the sight of God and man. God, saith the Prophet Micah, hath shewed thee, O man ! *what is good, even to do justice, and love mercy*, chap. 6. 8. And Justice, Mercy, and Faith, are by our Saviour represented as the most weighty Precepts of the Moral Law, Mat. 23. 23.

4thly, The Law of *Natural Affection*, which doth instruct us in the first place, and more especially, to be kind to our own Flesh ; Hence do the Heathens put this among the first and most indissoluble Principles of Nature, first to honour the Gods, and after

^h *Ἐν παντί ἐκονθῶμεν ἀλλήλοις ἀεὶ, ὡς εἰς ἑν ὡν ἅνθρωπος ἐστὶν τῆς φύσεως.* Ibid. Eclog. Eth. p. 197.

them our Parents ; and ⁱ *Plutarch* adds, ἥτε φύσις ὁ τε καὶ φύσιν σώζων νόμος, Nature, and the Law of Nature requires that Parents should have the highest Honour next to the Gods, and that nothing is a greater Evidence of Atheism than to despise them ; The Love of Brethren, and near Kinsfolks, who are of the same Blood with us, is by all Men stiled Natural Affection, because it plainly hath its rise from this consideration, that they are of the same Flesh and Blood with us, or in the Language of the Scripture, are *Flesh of our Flesh*, and *Bone of our Bone*, and much more our own Off-spring, which are, μέρϑως τοῦ ἡμετέρου, a part of us, a little Image, and new Edition of our selves : All these Relations are therefore by *Philosophers* stiled χεῖρες φύσιναι, Natural Relations, because they do arise not from our Will, but from our Nature, and therefore by our close conjunction in Affection to them, we only act agreeably to Nature ; whereas the Relations we contract by Affinity with others, are the Result of our Choice ; as the Relation between Man and Wife, who choose so close an Union as renders them one Flesh, and consequently doth engage them to that mutual Love they owe to one another, and to Affection to each other's Kindred, as being one in Blood with them, they have assumed into so close an Union with themselves. And

ⁱ De Fratr. Amor. p. 479. E. F.

hence in Scripture, the Reverence and Affection we bear to our Parents is declared to be honourable in the sight of Men, and acceptable to God the common Father of us all, *Colos. 3. 20.* • Brotherly affection is made an instance of the highest, the love of Parents to their Children, of the most tender love; and the *Apostle* hath inform'd us, that *if any Man provides not for his own, he hath denied the Faith, and is worse than an Infidel,* 1 Tim. 5. 4, 8.

Now hence we may easily learn the higher Obligation which lies upon us to love our selves, as that imports the welfare of our Souls in the first place, and then the preservation of our Lives, and the welfare of our Bodies; for if I am obliged thus to affect my Kindred because they are so near to my self, I must be obliged more to love my self; if I must bear so great affection to my Parents because they have contributed to my Being, and my Well-being is of higher importance than my Being, (it being no desirable thing to have a miserable Being) even that must instruct me to be more concerned for the weal and happiness of my Being.

scily, The Law of *Gratitude* which doth oblige us to do good to them who have deserved well from us, and make returns of kindness to them; for to love them who love us, and to do good to them who do

good to us, is only to do that which *Heathens*, by the Light of Nature, do, as we learn from our Saviour's Question, *Do not Heathens and Publicans the same?* Matth. 5. 46. And indeed, as *Seneca* puts the Question, What is more laudable, and more generally implanted in the Hearts of all, than that obliging Kindness doth oblige us to reciprocal Affection; and that he who hath deserved well of me, should receive well from me? And therefore *Cicero* places this among the first of Duties, *Ut ei plurimum tribuamus a quo multum diligimur*; And *Seneca* observes, that no written Laws prescribe this Gratitude, because 'tis as unnecessary to do it, as to require us to love our selves; Ingratitude being so hateful in the eyes of all Men, that they who give examples of it in themselves complain of it in others.

Now from this Gratitude, as it is by the *Moralists* declared to be a branch of Justice, naturally do arise,

First, The Duties of Reverence and Love, Submission and Obedience, both to our heavenly Father, and our earthly Parents; whence, of those *Heathens*, who, when they knew God, did not glorify him as God, neither were thankful, and who were void of natural Affection, and disobedient to

* De Benefic. l. 4. c. 17. De Offic. l. 1. N. 71.

Parents, the Apostle doth declare *they were without excuse*, since by the Light of Nature they well knew, that *they who did these things were worthy of Death*, Rom. i. ult.

Secondly, The Duties of subjection to Superiors, of peaceable deportment in those Societies of which we are a part, and in our Conversation with all Men, in gratitude for those advantages we reap from Government, Society, and Converse with others: Hence *Righteousness and Peace*, i.e. a peaceable deportment among Men, are by St. Paul declared to be things which find a general approbation in the World; for, *he that in these things, saith he, serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of Men*. For to begin with that Duty which we all owe to God.

I. Who can dispute the truth of these Assertions, viz. That our Affections should be chiefly placed upon the chiefest Good; and that we should most highly value that which is most excellent in it self, and beneficial to us; and by just consequence, that God is to be chiefly loved? That we should fear him most whose Power is Almighty, and therefore Uncontroulable, and who is able to destroy both Soul and Body; that is, that we should fear God more than Man? That we should chiefly place our hope and confidence in him who is able to save to the uttermost, whose Power doth assure us,

he

he can do all his pleasure, his Wisdom, that he knoweth what best conduceth to our Welfare; whose Goodness doth encourage all good Men to hope he will do for them what is best? That we should yield a firm assent to that which Truth it self affirms, and depend confidently on the Promise of that God who cannot lye, and so should yield a firm assent to his Word? That we should chiefly be observant of, and uprightly obedient to him, whose Children, Servants, and Subjects we are born, from whom we have derived all our Faculties, and all the Blessings we enjoy, and whose Service is our truest Freedom, and our great Reward; or, in one word, that we should be obedient to God's righteous Laws? That we should glorifie him with those Souls and Bodies which are his; and be concerned to promote his Honour, who always is concerned to promote our Good? That our Souls should chiefly be employed in actions suitable to their spiritual Nature, and most perfective of their Being, in imitation of the most perfect Pattern of Holiness and Goodness, the doing of those things which render us most like to the best of Beings; that is, that we should live to his Honour? That, for supply of all our Wants, we should repair to him whose Wisdom is acquainted with them; whose Power doth enable him to

do above what we can ask; and whose Goodness doth incline him to fulfil all the reasonable desires of them that fear him? And lastly, That we should be most grateful to him from whom proceeds every good and perfect Gift, and from whom we entirely derive our present Mercies, and our future Hopes? Which are all the Duties of Natural Religion toward God.

2. The Duties which we owe to our Neighbour, are all comprised under the Heads of Charity and Justice. Now Justice, as it respects our Deeds, requires us to give every Man his own, and therefore neither to detain, nor to detract from others, what is theirs, either by Fraud, by Violence, or Oppression, Over-reaching, or Out-witing them; nor to do any Injury to them in their Goods, Relations, Honour, or Life, much less in the concerns of their immortal Souls. The comprehensive *Rule of Justice* affirmatively runs thus; Do thou to others as, in like Circumstances, thou dost judge it reasonable and honest others should do to thee: And negatively thus; Do not thou that to others which, in like Circumstances, thou dost conceive unreasonable and dishonest when thou art so dealt with. Now, is not this the Voice of Nature, and a Rule engraven on our Hearts? Can any reasonable Creature doubt the truth of this Assertion, That what is just, and right, when

it is done to him, must be so also, in like cases, when it is done by him to others? And as for the negative part of this Injunction, viz. Do not to others as thou wouldst not be dealt with; is it not built on these clear Principles, that what is evil when it is done to thee, must, in like Circumstances, be likewise evil when it is done by thee to others? And that thou oughtest to be as unwilling to do evil to thy Neighbour, as to receive evil from him? To appeal to the common Suffrage of Mankind; Would not all Men retain their Right, and quietly enjoy their Own? Do they not all expect their Innocency should protect them, and that they should not suffer without cause? Do they not covet the Reputation of honest Men? Is it not matter of their Glory, that none can tax them with Dishonesty or injurious Dealing? Do they not hate to be esteemed Knaves, Cheats, or Robbers; or Men of Violence, and Oppression? Do they not labour to conceal, excuse and extenuate such actions, and put upon them some colour or pretence of Justice? Is it not therefore evident from these Considerations, that to be just in all our Dealings, and careful that we do no injury to others, is to provide things honest in the sight of all Men?

Again,

Again, Justice, as it respects our Words, obligeth us to speak the truth from our Heart, and put away the lying Lip, to be sincere in our Professions and Converse with others, in opposition to Hypocrisie, and Pretence of what indeed we are not; and to be faithful to our Promises and Compacts, in opposition to Perfidiousness: Now, have not all these things the general approbation of good Men, which is the truest test of what is honourable? Are we not all desirous to be thought Men of our Words; Men upon whose Sincerity and Truth our Neighbour may rely? Are not the lying Tongue, and the false Witness, the Hypocrite, and the perfidious Person, an abomination both to God and Man? Can we endure to be represented in the Psalmist's Words, as Men whose Mouths are filled with Deceit and Fraud, who give good Words with our Mouths, but dissemble in our double Hearts; whose Words are sweeter than Butter, when War is in our Hearts? Do we not take it very heinously when we are charged with any of these things? Do not our Hearts rise up against the Man who brands us with the name of Lyar, or dissembling Hypocrite? Are we not much concern'd to vindicate our selves from such vile Imputations cast upon us? Would we not have others to deal above-board with us? To be sincere in their pretences of Affection

fection to us, and faithful to their Promises? Is it not very hateful and displeasing to us to be sham'd by fair Pretences, cajol'd by the Dissimulations, and trapann'd by the false Promises of others? And do not these things shew that when we are guilty of these things, we do not deal with others as we would be dealt with? Do they not evidently demonstrate, that Truth, Sincerity, Fidelity in Words and Actions, are things of good report; and that by taking care to eschew all Falshood and Hypocrisie, to be veracious in our Words, inflexibly observant of our Promises, and cordial in our Expressions of Affection towards others, we do provide things honourable in the sight of all Men?

3. That which we *Christians* stile Charity, is, in the Language of the *Heathen Moralists*, Humanity; and it requires us to maintain an unfeigned Good-will, an affectionate Kindness to, and a sincere Concernment for, the Good of all Men; causing us to rejoice in their Prosperity, and to be ready to promote it, as far as we can do so, without considerable damage to our selves; to sympathize with them in their Afflictions, and, as far as conveniently we can, to supply their Wants, to relieve them under any Misery, and to contribute to the Ease and Comfort of their Lives; and more especially to labour to prevent the Ruin,
and

and to promote the Welfare, of their Souls; and lastly, upon any reasonable submission, any fair acknowledgment of the Offence, and desire of Reconciliation, to be easie to be intreated, and ready to forgive. Now, as this Humanity carries Goodness in its very Name, so is it easie to discern that it is highly equitable: For, is it not natural to all Men to desire that others should be ready, as occasion serves, to do good to them, when they can do it without hurt of any? That they should bear a kind affection to them, should sympathize with them in their Afflictions, and be inclined to shew mercy to them, upon their earnest desire, and humble acknowledgment of their Offence? Since then this Charity only obligeth us to shew that Kindness and Good-will to another, which we, in his condition, would desire, and expect; why should we desire, or expect, this from him, if we do not judge it reasonable for him to do it? Moreover, Do we not naturally condemn that Man who is inhuman and unfriendly to his Brethren; who, seeing them in Misery and Want, doth, with the *Levite*, pass unconcerned by, or shutteth up his bowels of Compassion from them? Do we not count it matter of Credit and Reputation to be like the good *Samaritan*;

— Xensóms, a fædwaín.

or

or like to our great Master, doing good to all; or like to that God who is good to all, and *whose tender Mercies are over all his Works*? Do we not hate to be reputed unkind, unmerciful, revengeful, or implacable; and must not this convince us that the Man of a compassionate and tender Heart, and of an universally obliging Temper, is a valuable Person, one who doth what is highly commendable, and worthy of our imitation; and that the contrary Temper hath something in it which deserveth blame? In short, is it not highly reasonable that a Man, subject to like Wants and Exigencies with other Men, should do those offices of Kindness to his Fellow-man which he himself may shortly need? So true is that of the Heathen, *Homo qui homini calamitoso est misericors meminit sui*; He that is merciful to another under his Calamity, is mindful of himself.

Lastly, The Duties which we owe to our own selves are chiefly these; Sobriety, Chastity, Contentment, Moderation of our Passions and Desires, Examination of our Ways, or Christian Vigilance: Now, what do all these aim at, but the preservation both of our Souls and Bodies in the best state, of which, in this Life, they are capable? And is not this Self-preservation that which even Nature doth suggest to all?

All

All that right Reason doth prescribe for moderation of our sensual Desires and brutish Appetites, must be comprised in a due care to keep our selves from all tormenting Passions, inordinate Affections, insatiable and unreasonable Lustings after the Pleasures and Enjoyments of this World, all which are by the Heathen *Moralists* stiled Perturbations, because they tend to the anxiety, disquiet, and disturbance of our Minds, as do apparently all Anger, Envy, Rancor, Strife, contentious Dispositions, and all worldly Cares, which therefore are both opposite to the ease and quiet of our Minds, and to the health and vigour of the Body; and needs there any farther reason to persuade us to avoid these things? Moreover, what is Contentment, but an Art to live at ease in all events that may befall us in this life? Or, what is Patience, but an alleviation of every Burthen that we bear? And, what are Temperance and Chastity, but kind expedients to preserve the Body from Distempers, Rottenness, and Stench? What do they aim at but the prolongation of that Life in health and vigour, which our Intemperance and Luxury destroy before the time? And, what is vigilance over our Ways, besides a prudent care that we neglect no opportunity of doing good to our selves; and that we labour to prevent as much as may be,

D

that

that which conduceth to the hurt or damage of our Bodies, or our Souls; as knowing even from ^a Plato, that *οὐδὲν ζῆλον* *εἰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀφαιρήσῃ*, we cannot neglect the care of the Soul without great danger? Who then can rationally deny that all this is our reasonable service; and that we are doing good to our selves, when we are carefully employ'd in these Duties?

§. V. Now this Consideration affords a satisfactory Answer to the Arguments of *Pyrrhon*, *Sextus Empiricus*, and others, to prove these are not Laws of Nature, or actions naturally good or evil, because the Practices or Customs of some barbarous Nations, and of some Philosophers, were opposite to many of them; for if the unprejudiced Judgment of the best, the wisest, and most civilized Nations, who had improved their Reason most, saw cause sufficient to approve these Laws as suitable to the dictates of right Reason; then must it follow that others, had they cultivated their Reason, as they might have done, and freed themselves from those unreasonable Prejudices, those false Opinions, which they had received from Education, Custom, or from Superstition, might have as easily discerned those actions, done by them, in

opposition to those Laws, to be unsuitable to the dictates of right Reason, as the wiser *Heathens*; And tho' 'tis to be lamented as a Scandal to *Christianity*, that Whoredom and Adultery, Theft and Rapine, Lying and Swearing, bearing false Witness, and coveting what belongs to others, are now become almost as common among *Christians*, as they were formerly among *Heathens*; yet sure this is no proof that *Christians* do not, or may not, see the evil of those actions, or the contradiction which they bear to the Precepts of the Gospel; what reason have we therefore to conclude from the like practices of the *Heathens* against the tenor of these Laws, they could not have discerned the opposition which those actions bore to the dictates of right Reason, as well as did those wiser and more civilized Nations which condemned them?

To conclude this Section: There seems to me to have been a defect in most of the Authors, who have writ upon the Law of Nature, in this particular; That they have only considered Man as Social and Part of a Community, or as being obliged to preserve himself, and so have divided the Laws of Nature into those which respect a Man's behaviour towards himself, and towards other Men, without regard to natural Religion, or to that outward and in-

ward Reverence and Duty which he owes to the Deity, which seem most naturally to arise from Man considered as a Being capable of Religion, and sensible of his Original from a God that made, and still preserves him; introducing Religion only as a thing necessary to oblige them to those Duties which they owe to others and themselves, and not as a part of that Duty which they owe to God, by virtue of his divine Excellencies, and their dependence on him for their Beings and their Well-beings, or as a thing necessary to a future state, when all Communities shall cease, and, with them, all the Duties of Justice, Peace, and Truth, and Charity to the Indigent, or Mercy and Forgiveness; and when there shall be no farther place for Temperance and Sobriety, or the due government of our Passions, the objects of them being removed and done away; whence it must follow, by the clearest consequence, that there can be no Law of Nature obliging any Man to pursue his future Felicity.

§. VI. I therefore, with submission to better Judgments, chuse rather to consider Man as a Rational Being, capable of Religion, as *Lactantius* describes him, and of the knowledge of God, as the Author and Preserver of his Being; or, as the Apostle

says,

faith, as one that hath given him Life, Breath, and all things; one, lastly, who is an all-perfect Being, and therefore one who is perfect in Power and Wisdom, Truth, Holiness, and Justice, Love and Goodness: From which Considerations, I think, 'tis easie to deduce all the Foundations of my obligation to Worship him in all the offices of natural Religion. And,

First, Hence evident it is that God requires some Duty from us, he having shewed Man what is good, and therefore what the Lord requireth of him, that he doth certainly expect from all Men, that they should own and honour him as God, by paying that obedience and service to him which is due from Creatures to their great Creator: Whence the *Apostle*, Rom. i. 21, represents the *Heathens* as inexcusable and subject to his just displeasure in that *when they knew God, they did not glorifie him as God, nor were they thankful to him for his Benefits.* The School of *Epicurus* went so far in this, as to acknowledge, that if God thought fit to require any service from Man, he must stand bound, by his relation to him, to perform it; and all Nations have, by their continual practice, own'd it was their sentiment that he did actually require that service, there being no Nation without *Priests*, and *Sacrifices*, or without

Prayer and Praises tendered to the Gods they own'd; it being natural to infer from that Capacity to all the Acts of natural Religion in which they were framed, and from those noble Faculties he had given them, to discern their obligations thus to serve him, and from that lively sense they had of those transcendent Excellencies which rendered him most worthy to be served, that he did actually intend that they should serve him; For evident it is that all wise Agents act for some prudent end and design, something good and worthy of themselves in what they do; now, to what end should God have framed us with this Capacity of Religion, if he designed not that we should be religious? Why hath he given us those noble Faculties, whereby we naturally discern this is our reasonable service, if he doth not require us to act according to these dictates of our Reason? Why hath he given us Wisdom and Discretion to discern his glorious Excellencies, if he is not concerned that we should glorifie him, either by imitation of his communicable Perfections, or by acknowledgment of his transcendent Excellencies, by actions proper to express our sense and apprehension of them; that is, by worshipping him according to those Excellencies which render him so fit an Object of our religious Service, and from which our obligation to perform

perform it naturally spring; so that by looking into the Frame of Human Nature, by consulting our own inward Sentiments, and then reflecting on that wise Agent, who doubtless hath thus framed us for some good Ends, and hath implanted in us all these Principles, and given us those Apprehensions of his Nature and Perfections to produce in us their proper and immediate Operations, we may rationally conclude that he hath made us for his Service: Hence,

2ly, It follows that he will reward us for the faithful performance, and punish our neglect of this his Service; since *he that cometh to God, must believe not only that he is, but also that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him*, Hebr. 11. 6. And indeed Duty must be a vain and insignificant expression, and even a contradiction, if I be not obliged to perform it; obliged thus I cannot be without some motive to it, and yet what motive can I have to practise it, if I shall never be the better by it, or rewarded for it? Again, there can be no such thing as Duty, if I am left at freedom to omit it, and sure it is I may neglect it, if I shall suffer nothing by so doing; that is, if I shall not be called to account, or punished for the neglect, as in this present Life it often happens; But this will still appear more evident from the consideration of those noble Faculties

with which our Natures are endued ; for is it not highly equitable, that a reasonable Creature should give a Reason of his Actions ? And is not this a just presumption, that he who made him so will require a Reason of them, and call him to Account for acting contrary to his Reason ? Is it not reasonable to conceive, that he to whom God hath given Wisdom to discern his Duty to him, and what the Lord requireth of him, and a Will to chuse it, and to incline him to act according to that Judgment, should act suitably to these Faculties ? Is not that Sovereign who hath thus framed us, our Superior, and must he not then have a Right to call his Subjects to Account for the Improvement of those Talents which he hath put into their hands ? Moreover, if Children or Servants do neglect their Duty, or do what they ought not, do we not ask, why is this done, why is this left undone ? Would not Society be dissolved, and the World run into confusion, if no Man were accountable to his Superiors for what he did ? And is it reasonable to conceive, that God should make us accountable to our Fellow-Creatures for our Actions, but not accountable to himself, but leave us all at liberty to disobey, dishonour, and neglect our Duty to him, whose Children, Servants, and Subjects we all are ? Shall Parents judge their Children,
Masters

Masters their Servants, and Magistrates their Subjects, and shall not the Judge of all the Earth do so? Hence even the Philosophers declare, That they were moved to embrace the Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, from the Consent of all Nations, fearing what should be after this Life, or hoping for a better Life, who from Tradition, or from Natural Reason, or from both, had still an expectation of their going hence, to some blessed, or infernal Regions, and also have excluded those whom they deemed impious and profane, from their *Elysian Shades*, and their *Cœlestial Regions*, and have confined them to their supposed *Tartarus*, or those infernal Places which answer to the *Christian's Hell*. To proceed to Particulars, hence it is evident;

§ VII. 1st, That God requires we should honour him, for Honour being only an Acknowledgment of another's Excellencies; it must be a clear Dictate of the Light of Nature, that he who is most excellent, must be acknowledged as most honourable, and therefore he who hath discovered to us his

° Cum de animorum æternitate differimus, non leve momentum apud nos habet, consensus hominum aut inferos timentium, aut colentium. Sen. Ep. 117. Permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium Cicer. Tusc. qu. 1. n. 29.

Divine

Divine Excellencies, must expect that we should honour him by the acknowledgment of what he hath discovered to us, since for no other reason can we judge them to be discovered to us: Hence ^P Seneca declares, that, *Primum Deorum cultus est reddere illis majestatem suam, reddere bonitatem*: The first Act of Divine Worship is to agnise the Majesty, the Goodness, and other Perfections of the Deity.

2ly, The Worship of God being founded on the Acknowledgment of these Excellencies of the Divine Nature, and superadding only to it a readiness in the Will to testify our Apprehensions of them, and in the outward Action an actual performance of those things which are expressive of these Excellencies, if we stand bound to honour God by the acknowledgment of these Excellencies, we must be certainly obliged to worship him; that is, to testify our Apprehensions of them by such Acts as are most proper to express that sense which we have of them, either to him by inward Worship, or to others by outward Acts of Veneration; for sure the Honour which I acknowledge to be due to him for these Excellencies, I must be bound to tender to him on the account of them, seeing it cannot reasonably be supposed I should be left at liberty to rob him of his Due; and seeing

I stand bound to this acknowledgment to some end, which end can only be obtained by those inward Proofs, or outward Testimonies, by which I shew my Apprehensions of them by Actions properly expressive of them unto God or Man; my Obligation to own these Excellencies, must also be an Obligation to all those Actions which are properly expressive of them, and are by all Mankind received as the proper Indications of these Apprehensions; and hence *Velleius*, tho' an *Epicurean*, is forced to confess that, *præstans Deorum natura digna est*, the excellent Nature of the Gods is worthy, *quæ hominum pietate cole-retur, habet enim Venerationem justam quic-quid excellit*, to be worshipped by the Piety of Men, since whatsoever doth excel justly deserveth Veneration.

3ly, Since 'tis essential to the first Being, or the Creator of the World, to be the Author of our subsequent Beings, Lives and Faculties, and of all the Good Things of the World, and so of those *Set-times*, and *fruitful Seasons*, which fill our Hearts with *Food and Gladness*; and all Men naturally are obliged to the free Author of all the Blessings they enjoy; hence necessarily doth result our Obligation to render Praises and Thanksgivings to this God of all our Mercies: Again, since all Men naturally desire

? Apud, Cic. de N. Deorum, l. 1. n. 34.

the preservation of their Beings, and therefore the enjoyment of all things needful to that end, 'tis certain that dependent Creatures must desire the preservation of that Life, and of these Blessings from the Author of them; and since without a Providence which ordereth and taketh Care of our Affairs, there can be neither Piety nor Vertue, as will hereafter be demonstrated, and the supposal of this Providence shews the necessity of our dependence on the Author of it, for Preservation, and Protection, and the Provisions of this present Life, hence must it be our Duty to repair by Prayer and Supplication to the Creator, Preserver, and Orderer of all Things, for preservation of our Souls in Life, and the supply of all our Wants: And it seems strange that any one should think that Man, by reason of his weakness and insufficiency to preserve himself, should be obliged by the Law of Nature to enter into Society in order to his preservation and well-being, and yet that being thus dependent upon God, and much more insufficient to preserve himself, and to procure his well-being without Divine Assistance, (as all Societies by the performance of these Duties of Prayer and Praises to their respective Deities, have evidently own'd) should not be thought obliged by the same Law to the performance of them.

4^{ly}, Since

44y, Since we believe what other Men do testifie, upon the Confidence we have both of their Skill to know what they attest, and of their Fidelity, which will not suffer them to deceive us by a false Testimony, or by averring what they do not know to be the Truth; seeing the infinite Wisdom of God doth render it impossible he should be ignorant of any thing, and his Veracity as impossible that he should lye; hence it is evident, that we stand bound to testifie our acknowledgment of these Perfections, by a firm belief of whatsoever God shall testifie; and may be assur'd, that all that an Almighty God doth promise will be performed, there being nothing more repugnant to the Idea of a God of Truth and Faithfulness, than that He should delude us with false words: For *God is not as a Man that he should lye, nor as the Son of Man that he should repent*, Numb. 23. 19. Hence, say the *Heathens*, that which prevails with Men to vary from their Words, is either that they were deceitful in them, or repent of them afterwards, or if they do continue willing, they are unable to perform them, none of which things can be incident to a God Almighty, a Lover of

Ἡ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς ἐμπέσχε πρὸς φελασαθῶν τὸ ἀπάληλον πρὸ βεβαίω τὸ παλαιάνειον, πρὸ τῆς αἰωνίου ἀτελείας. Stob. Serm. 11. p. 139.

Truth,

Truth, and who is constant to his Word. And 5^{ly}, Seeing we repose our confidence in, and hope for good things from a Man of Power, Wisdom, and of Kindness to us, these Attributes belonging in a transcendent manner to God, must render him the best, and the most proper Object of our Affiance and our Hope.

6^{ly}, Fear being that Passion which excites us to endeavour to avoid some evil that we dread, or the loss of some good thing which we desire to enjoy, or to preserve; that Being who is almighty and uncontrollable in Power; and therefore able to inflict the greatest Evils on us, and in whose Favour we enjoy the greatest Good, must be on these two accounts most worthy to be feared, and so even Prudence must oblige us to have that awe of him continually upon our Spirits, which may preserve us from so provoking him as to engage his Power against us, or to cause him to withdraw his Favour from us: And since his Omnipresence assures us we can never avoid the Stroke of his Almighty Arm, and his Omniscience that we cannot conceal from him any of our evil Thoughts or Actions, and his Holiness and Justice that he must be exceedingly displeased with, and so inclined to punish them, this must advance our Fear of him above all finite Beings; and if these things do not produce this Fear within

within us, it must be certain we do not truly acknowledge these Perfections in God.

7thly, Seeing all Love ariseth from the Consideration of the excellency, or the kindness of the Object loved, or the relation it beareth to us (for we do only love on the account of Resemblance, where that Resemblance is deemed an Excellency) that God whose Excellencies as much transcend all the Perfections of his Creatures as his Nature doth, and who, as he is *Maximus*, and therefore the most able, so is he *Optimus*, and so the most inclined to do us good, and who is actually the Giver of every good and perfect Gift, the Father, the Creator, and the continual Preserver of us all, must be most worthy of our highest Love, and therefore we must be obliged to acknowledge these his Excellencies by loving him above all things.

8thly, Seeing we think it reasonable to obey, or be subject to that Power which we cannot resist, and is most able to protect us, and to procure our good; to be directed by that Wisdom which best discerns our Interest, and what most tendeth to advance it, especially when it is joyned with that Love and Mercy, which will most certainly engage him to employ that Power and Wisdom to the advantage of all his loving Subjects; and all Men do conceive it

it their great Happiness to have such a Governour as truly doth excel in these Perfections, all these Perfections being transcendently in God, he must be worthy to be obey'd in all things, and our refusal so to do, must be a virtual denial, or a refusal to own these Perfections in the Deity. And,

Lastly, The same Reasons do as strongly argue for our Passive Obedience, that is our acquiescence in, and our entire resignation of our selves to the Will of Providence; for if this Providence be managed with the highest Wisdom, and the Designs of Love, I may be certain that whatsoever doth befall me is wisely suffer'd to befall me, and is intended for my good in the issue of it, and therefore if I be not wanting to myself, may be improved for my good: If he who exercises this Providence over me be an Almighty God, I know that he is able to divert all that is truly Evil from me, and therefore would not suffer it to come upon me, did not his Wisdom see that it is good and needful for me, either as Spiritual Phyc for my Soul's Health, or Trial to improve my Vertue; and therefore that it only is my Folly which can induce me to be discontented or uneasie under it; and so I do not truly own these Attributes, unless I acquiesce in all the Dispensations of his Providence: And this is suitable to that

that celebrated Saying of *Pythagoras*, and *Socrates*, in *Plato* and in *Cicero*, 'That nothing truly evil can happen to a good Man, because the Gods never neglect his Affairs.

' Nec enim Viro bono mali quicquam evenire potest nec vivo nec mortuo, nec unquam ejus Res a Diis immortalibus negligentur. *Tusc. qu. l. i. g. 81.*

C H A P. II.

The C O N T E N T S.

The Necessity of the Christian Revelation arises from the Corruption of those Natural Principles both by Jew and Gentile. The Jews having corrupted the Principles of Natural Religion by their vain Traditions, and corrupt Notions of the Deity. § 1. And enervated their Obligations to all the Duties of the Second Table. § 2. And to the Duties of Charity and Mercy. § 3. The Reason of their Incredulity, notwithstanding the strong Conviction they had from Holy Scripture, and from Miracles, that our Jesus was the true Messiah. § 4.

THese Principles of Natural Religion being assuredly design'd for the good and welfare of Mankind, and to render
E him

him capable of the Divine Favour, and some Rewards of his Obedience ; since *he that comes to God, must believe that he is a Rewarder of all them who diligently seek him*, they being also as truly the Revelation of his Will to the *Heathen*, as Scripture was to the *Jew* and *Christian*, and the Rules by which God will pass Judgment on them at the last Day ; when once these Natural Principles came to be much impaired by the Corruptions of Mens Reasons, and by their vain Traditions and Opinions, and rendered unserviceable to these good Ends, by the Disputings of the Wise against them, and those gross Errors which destroyed the efficacy of them, or by that *Scepticism* which rendered them uncertain of them, then was there an apparent ground for, and evident expedience of such a Declaration, or new Revelation of the Will of God, as might place these great Principles of Natural Religion in the clearest Light, give a fresh lustre and advancement to them, a brighter and a more convincing Evidence of those Fundamental Principles on which all true Religion doth depend, and more effectual and prevailing Motives to the performance of our Duty.

Now that thus it was, not only with respect to the *Heathen* World, but even to the *Jewish* Nation, when first the Gospel was revealed ; that the Principles of Natural

Rel

Religion and true Vertue, and the Foundations on which they depend, were very much defaced, and the strength of them was in a great degree abated, shall be my present business to evince; and the Inference which I shall make is this: That the new Revelation made by the Gospel-Dispensation, was highly requisite to the welfare and happiness of Man, and that by giving us such bright and full Discoveries of our whole Duty both to God, our Neighbour, and our Selves, such new and cogent Motives to perform it, and such clear Evidence of the Foundations on which the Practice both of Religion and Moral Vertue do depend, Christianity is admirably subservient both to God's Glory, and to the Happiness of all to whom it is revealed.

§ I. 1st, Then, I say, that the Religion of the Jews was so exceedingly corrupted by their vain Traditions, and fond Opinions of God's partial Affection to them above all other Nations, as made it ineffectual to the true Ends of pure and undeviated Religion; for tho' they entertained a right Notion of God as the Creator of the World, they miserably err'd as to the End of its Creation, fondly imagining that it was made for them alone, and so they corrupted the Notion of God's general

E 2 Good-

Goodness, which is chiefly visible in the Creation of a World after that manner that it shall alway bring forth Food for the use of Man; hence the *Apostle* makes this the Testimony, that he is ἀγαθοποιῶν, a God of general Goodness to all Men, in that he gives them Rain from Heaven, and fruitful Seasons, filling their Hearts with Food and Gladness, Acts 14. 17.

Again, they own'd the Providence of God, but then they foolishly conceived that God had only regard to them in all the Dispensations of it, and that he looked on all the residue of the World only as Spittle, and had given them all up to the Government of Satan, and so they left the Heathens as void of any Providence, respecting them, as *Epicurus* did; yea left them to the Government of evil Spirits, which even *Plutarch*, by the Light of Nature, saw to be as great a blemish to God as for a Prince to set a wicked Governour over a Province; for "in *Vajikra* Rabbin they introduce God speaking thus to Satan *Tho' I have made thee Kosmocrator*, i. e. Ruler over the Creatures, i. e. the Heathens *thou shalt have nothing to do with my People* See Buxt. Lex. Tal. p. 2007.

* Πῶς ἔν ἐκ ἑστίν ἑκκλησία τῶ θεοῦ, &c. De Stoic. rep. p. 1051.

" § 18.

* Von Rom.

The first Opinion we find in the Second Book of *Esdra*s, ch. 6. v. 55, 56. where the Jew comes to God with these words, *O Lord thou madest the World for our sakes ; as for the other People which also come of Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, but be like unto Spittle, and hast likened the abundance of them to a drop that falleth from a Vessel : And V. 59. If the World be made for our sakes, why do we not possess an Inheritance in it ?*

3dly, They enervated the Doctrine of future Punishments, as it respected them especially, by teaching that only *Epicureans, Atheists, Hereticks, and Apostates* from their Religion went to Hell, and that no circumcised Jew could abide there ; *" Hell-fire, say they, hath no power over the Sinners of Israel, because Abraham and Isaac descend thither to fetch them thence : They also taught that no circumcised Person went to Hell, God having promised to deliver them from it for the merit of Circumcision ; and as they were thus fondly, and unreasonably partial to themselves, declaring that all Israelites had a Portion in the World to come, this being the first Sentence in the Capitula Patrum, so have they represented*

* Vorst. Animadv. in Pirk. Eliezer, p. 160. See Note Rom. 2. 13,

God as most unreasonably cruel and unmerciful to the whole *Heathen World*, declaring that they are all, * *Pabulum ignis Gehenne*, Fuel for Hell-fire.

4thly, They rendered Repentance, Holiness of Life, and sincere and general Obedience to the Laws of God unnecessary upon these several accounts,

1st, By thinking it a sufficient Title to God's Favour, and a Security from his Judgments, that they were *Abraham's Seed*; the *Chaldee Paraphrast* making frequent mention of their Expectations to be preserved for the Merits of their Forefathers, *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*; hence saith the *Baptist* to them, *Bring forth fruits meet for repentance, for the ax is now laid to the root of the tree, and think (it) not (sufficient to preserve you from excision) to say within your selves, we are Abraham's seed*, Mat. 3. 8, 9. And † *Justin M.* saith to *Trypho*, That by the Instructions of their Masters, and Rabbins, they expected that the Kingdom of Heaven shall be given, *ταῖς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἀποκατάστασις τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀποκατάστασις*, to the Children of *Abraham*, tho' they were ἀμάρτανλοι, καὶ ἀπειθεῖς τοῖς νόμοις καὶ θεῷ, Sinners, and disobedient to God.

* Vorst. *ibid.*

† Dial. cum Tryph. p. 369, 370.

2dly, By their Doctrin, that hearing and studying the Law would be sufficient to procure the favour of God without the practice of it; in opposition to which Doctrin St. Paul saith, that *not the hearers of the Law only, but the doers of the Law, shall be justified*, Rom. 2. 13. See the Note. And St. James, *Be ye doers of the Word, and not hearers only*, Jam. 1. 22. And,

3dly, That obedience to one Command, would compensate for their disobedience to the rest; their Doctrin, saith Dr. Pocock, being this, that God gave so many Commandments to them, that by doing any one of them they might be saved: So Kimchi expounds these Words of Hosea, *take away Iniquity, uchac Tob, and receive good*, i. e. *receive in lieu of them we have transgressed, any Commandment that we have done*: It was a vulgar Rule among them, saith Dr. Smith, that Men should single out some one Commandment of God's Law, and therein especially exercise themselves, that so they might make God their Friend by that, lest in other things they should too much displease him; and he cites from them this Rule, He that observes any one Precept, it shall be well with him, and his Days shall be prolonged, and he shall possess the Earth: And against this loose Do-

Strine St. James seems to level this sacred Aphorism, *Whosoever shall keep the whole Law, (in other matters) and yet offend (wilfully) in one point, he is guilty of all,* Chap. 2, 10, 11. See the Note there.

To proceed to the Duties of the second Table.

§. II. *First*, They were noted, say other Writers, and their own *Josephus*, as a Nation averse to Government, their Zealots declaring they were Free-men, and owed subjection neither to *Cæsar*, nor to any other, but to God alone; and their whole Nation clamoured against the Tributes paid to *Cæsar*, as being a token of that Servitude which became not such a Free-people as they were, who owed subjection to the Laws of God alone; and upon this account they rebelled against the *Romans*, and against the Governours sent by them: And hence St. Peter doth exhort them to *submit to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, as free, but not using their liberty for a cloak of maliciousness,* 1 Pet. 2. 13, 16. See the Note there. * *Josephus* confesseth that they were represented as *ἔθνος δύστακτον καὶ δύσπειθές* quod *ᾤοντο τὰς βασιλείας*, a Nation hardly to be governed, and naturally averse from subjection to Kings;

* De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 8. p. 782. F.

and from them, saith ^b Tacitus, *Non Caesaribus honor*, No honour to Caesar was to be expected.

They made void the Duties of Children to their Parents by their doctrine of *Corban*, as our Lord hath taught us; and by that other doctrine, that ^c *Profelytes* were as new born Babes, and had lost all their Relation to the Kindred which they had before: And to this ^d Tacitus seems to refer, when he saith of them, that they are taught, *Parentes, liberos, fratres, vilia habere*, to have no regard to Parents, Children, or Brethren.

Comm. 6th, They violated the sixth Commandment, by the continual Murthers committed by their *Zealots* and *Sicarii*, without all forms of Judgment, and by their bloody Zeal against all *Jews* and *Profelytes* who embraced the *Christian Faith*; for, as our *Saviour* foretold, the time would come when they, by killing *Christians*, should think they did God good service, *John* 16. 2. so *Saul* confesseth, that out of Zeal to the Religion of the *Jews*, he persecuted them to the death; and *Justin M.* saith to *Trypho*, that his Country-men killed the *Christians* *αὐτοχείρῃ*, with their own Hands,

^b Hist. l. 5. p. 426.

^c See Note on 1 Cor. 5. 1. ^d Ibid.

where.

where-ever they were able ; thus did the *High-Priests* and Chief of the *Jews* lay wait for *Paul* to kill him, or consent to those that did so, *Acts* 23. 12. -- 25. 1. And hence *St. James* saith to them *Σηλάστε καὶ φονεύετε*, ye kill out of a bitter Zeal, *Jam.* 4. 2. And *St. Peter* saith to them, *Let no Man suffer as a Murderer*, 1 *Pet.* 4. 15. And, lastly, by their hatred against, and contempt of, all other Nations or Religions, which was augmented by their unworthy thoughts of God, as one who abhorred all other Nations, but loved them exceedingly ; Accordingly, saith *Tacitus*, They had great kindness for Men of their own Nation, *Sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium*, but as great hatred to all others.

Comm. 7th, They violated the seventh Commandment by their proneness to Lust and Impurity, they being, saith *Tacitus*, *projectissima ad libidinem gens* ; by these Doctrines, * That simple Fornication was only a Sin because forbidden, and that to ly with an Heathen Woman was no Sin till it was forbidden by the *Hasmoneans* encouraging them to indulge to Fornication, Whence the *Apostle*, in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, bids them look diligently, that there be no Fornicator among them, and tells them, that *Whoremongers and Adulterers*

* Seld, de jure Nat. &c, c. 6. c. 12.

God will adjudge to condemnation, Ch. 12. 16.--13. 4. (2.) By their Adulteries committed under pretence of Marriage. Thus Justin M. tells us, that their blind Rabbins permitted any of them to have four or five Wives, *καὶ ἑὰν εὐμορφὸν τις ἰδὼν ἐπιθυμῆται αὐτῆς*, and if any of them, seeing a beautiful Woman, did covet her, they taught them from the examples of Abraham, and the Patriarchs, *ἡνδὲν ἀδίκειν τὰς τὰ ὅμοια πεισ-
τούντας*, they did no evil in doing the like things; and that their Rabbins did permit them, in their Travels, *ἐνὸς αὐτῶν γαμῶς*, under pretence of Marriage, to take to themselves what Women they would, and as many as they would, and as they would; And Dr. Lightfoot adds, that it was common with them to proclaim in any place where they came, *Who will be my Wife for this day, or while I stay in this place?* And surely such a Wife could be no better than a Whore; and therefore the Apostle puts the Question to them thus, *Thou that sayest a Man should not commit Adultery, dost thou commit Adultery?* Rom. 2. 22. And lastly, by the incestuous Copulations they allowed to Proselytes, which perhaps gave occasion to those Words of Tacitus, *Concessa apud illos quæ nobis incesta*, those things are al-

^f Dial. cum Tryph. p. 363, E. 364.

[†] In Matth. 19. 3.

[‡] P. 425.

[§] P. 371. A.

lowed by them which we account incestuous. See the Note on 1 Cor. 5. 1.

Comm. 8th, They were also prone to rob and pillage other People, from that *Pharisaical* pretence, that the World was made for them. Hence * *Buxtorf* cites this passage from their *Talmud*, *That all the Possessions of the Gentiles are as common; he that first seizes on them, is Lord over them*: And touching the People of the Earth, as they stiled the *Gentiles*, they had this Rule, *That* ¹ *if they found any thing belonging to them, they were not bound to proclaim it*. Hence the *Apostle*, speaking to the *Corinthians*, of the *Jewish* Doctors, who endeavoured to bring them into Bondage to their Law, saith, *You suffer if a Man devour you, and take away what is yours*, 2 Cor, 11. 20.

Comm. 9th, And 5thly, It was very common with them to swear by the Creatures, or by Idols, this being their opinion, that these were not binding Oaths. See Note on *Matth. 5. 35*. Thus *Maimonides* saith, *If any Man swear by Heaven or by Earth, yet is not this an Oath*: And *R. Judah*, *That he that sweareth by Jerusalem, it is nothing; and more certainly he that sweareth by an Idol, because an Idol is nothing*

* *Lex Talmud.* p. 1345. ¹ p. 1626.

in the World; and this gave occasion to those known Words of *Martial*:

*Ecce negas, jurasque mihi per Templum Tonantis,
Non credo, jura, Verpe, per Anchialum.*

i. e. I will not believe thee, O Jew, swearing by *Jupiter*, but only when thou swear-est thus, *Am Chai Halah*, As the Lord liveth.

Comm. 10th, And lastly, they were very Covetous and Worldly-minded, especially the *Pharisees*, Luke 16. 14. They were still lusting after worldly things, *Jam. 4. 2.* still expecting the time when they should enrich themselves with the Spoils of the *Gentiles*; and to this coveting they were induced by this loose doctrine, That evil Thoughts did not defile where they proceeded not to Action. And hence *Josephus* saith, *Polybius* was mistaken when he said that *Antiochus Epiphanes* perished, because he would have robbed *Diana's Temple*, Τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἐτι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἔργον βαλυσάμηνον ἔκ ἐστὶ τιμωρίας ἄξιον, since he deserved no Punishment for what he only would have done, but did not: And *Kimchi* on those Words of *David*, Psalm 66. 18. *If I regard Iniquity in my Heart, the Lord will not hear me*, comments thus, He

^a Antiq. l. 12. c. 13.

will not impute it to me for sin; for God does not look upon an evil Thought as Sin, unless it be conceived against God or Religion. In a word, Josephus declares, that they were guilty of the violation of all God's holy Laws, enquiring thus, What have you done of all the good things required by our Law-giver? What have you not done of all those things which he pronounced accursed? And adds, that they were guilty of Theft, Treachery, Adultery, Sacrilege, Rapines, and Murthers, and new ways of Wickedness invented by them.

S. III. *Lastly, As for the Duties of Charity and Mercy to Mankind, they were the greatest strangers to them; for, as Tacitus pronounced, that they bore the greatest hatred to Men of other Nations; so doth the Apostle say, that they were contrary to all Men, 1 Thess. 2. 16. The Brother and the Stranger whom they were to love, being, according to their Interpretation, only the Jew and Proselyte to their Religion; whence they concluded that others might be hated by them. And the Son of Syrach, after all his excellent Sayings, betrays his Jewish Spirit in these Words; There be two manner of People which my Soul abhors, the Philistins, the Samaritans, and the foolish*

* De Bello Jud. l. 6. c. 26. p. 930, 931.

People which dwell in Sechem, Eccles. 50. 25, 26. ° Josephus doth inform us, that no good affection was so entirely lost among them as *that of Mercy*. And ° Juvenal informs us, that they would not do to others those common offices of Humanity, which even, by the Heathens, as Tully and Stobæus say, were from the Light of Nature accounted due to all Men; for, saith he, their custom was

*Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
Quæsitum ad fontem solum deducere verpum.*

not to shew the Way to a wandring, or a Fountain to a thirsty Traveller, who was not Circumcised.

§. IV. And hence we may return a satisfactory Answer to one common Objection against the truth of what the Apostles have delivered concerning the Miracles of Christ, viz. If the Miracles of Christ were so great and many as they represent them; if he so visibly fulfilled all that the Scriptures had foretold touching the true Messiah, if his Doctrine were so holy, his Life so full of Goodness and obliging Charity, is it not matter of astonishment, that of that Nation which was then big with expectation

* De B. Jud. l. 5. c. 22. p. 886. ° Sat. 14. V. 103, 104.

of a Saviour, and did so readily embrace false *Christs*, which saw the Miracles he did, and were the Objects of his Pity, and the living Monuments of his Power, so few embraced his Doctrin, so many did reject and blast him as a Deceiver and a Malefactor? For,

1st, Our Saviour gives a plain Answer to this Objection, by telling them, they received not the Light imparted to them because *they loved Darknes more than Light*, *John* 3. 18, 19, 20. *i. e.* Those deeds of Darknes were so pleasing to them, that notwithstanding all the Conviction offered of their Contradiction to the Light, and pernicious Consequences, they would still approve them; and because they were not of God, nor had the love of God in them, but were of their Father the Devil, and the Lusts of Satan they would do, *John* 5. 40. -- 8. 44, 47. resolving plainly their Infidelity into those evil Principles and corrupt Dispositions, which made them indisposed to receive, and averse from living according to his holy Doctrin; for Men of wicked and unhallowed Lives, must always be indisposed to receive the pure, spiritual, and self-denying Doctrin of the holy Jesus.

2^{dly}, We shall have little reason to admire this issue of our Saviour's coming to the *Jews*, if we consider that they were mostly

mostly carnal, and had their Minds still bent on Riches, Victory, Grandeur, Dominion, and such things as bore the greatest opposition to *Christ's* spiritual Kingdom; for their Religion, in the surface of it, (deeper than which their gross Conceptions did not penetrate) did represent worldly Wealth, Prosperity and Dignity, as things most highly valuable, these only being used as Motives to the performances of their Duty in the Books of *Moses*, whence they imagined that the enjoyment of them must be a certain mark of the divine Favour, and his peculiar Regard; esteeming Poverty, Affliction, Slavery, Disgrace, the greatest Curses, and indications of the divine Displeasure; particularly, they are said to have conceived that to be Rich was a particular qualification for a *Prophet*, and to have said Proverbially, *Spiritus Dei non requiescit super pauperem*, The Spirit of God rests not upon a poor Man. That he therefore who was designed to be so great a *Prophet*, and so signal a Blessing to their Nation, as their *Messiah* was represented by their *Prophets*, should appear so mean and despicable, and undergo so great Sufferings as our Saviour did, seem'd very unreasonable and distastful to them.

3dly, They had entertained a general Opinion, that their *Messiah* was to come in a Triumphant manner to subdue all the

F Nations

Nations under them, and make the Jews victorious over all their Enemies, and to reign over them for ever in great Majesty and Triumph; even *Christ's* Disciples were so possess'd with this Dream, that they were still desiring to be Grandees, and contending who should be first in this Kingdom, and enquiring whether their Master would at that time *restore the Kingdom to Israel*, Acts 1. 6. It is not therefore to be wondered that this so strong and pleasing Apprehension should prejudice their Minds against that *Jesus*, who by his mean and despicable condition in the World, and by his grievous Sufferings, by his continual Declarations, that *his Kingdom was not of this World*, that he came *not to be ministered to, but to minister*, so thwarted this Persuasion; yea, who had threatned the ruin of that Nation, State and Government, which the *Messiah* was, in their apprehension, to advance above all Nations. That this was one of the great reasons why they did reject *Jesus*, we learn not only from *Origen*, and other Christian Writers, but also from the Testimony of *Trypho* the Jew. And,

4thly, This will be still more clear, if we reflect on those many Prejudices which

they conceived both against his Person and his Doctrin. And,

1. Against his Person they had these Prejudices: (1.) That they were well acquainted with his Birth and Parentage, whereas *when Christ cometh, no Man can know whence he is, John 7. 27, 41, 52.* (2.) That his Descent was mean and base, and that he came out of Galilee, from whence no Prophet could arise. (3.) That he came not riding on the Clouds of Heaven, as the Prophet Daniel had foretold of the Messiah, *Dan. 7. 13.* (4.) That *Elijah* did not come to usher in his Advent, according to the prediction of *Malachi, Mal. 4. 5.* and the expectation of all the Jews. And, lastly, That the Messiah was to abide for ever, whereas our Lord *was lifted up*, and died an ignominious death, *John 12. 34.*

2. His Doctrin and Conversation gave greater matter of offence to them: For, (1.) He did what seemed to them inconsistent with their good and holy Man; for he conversed with *Publicans and Sinners*, and suffered a sinful Woman to embrace his Feet; which was by their Traditions thought a great Defilement. (2.) He did what they esteemed a violation of their Sabbaths, and hence they took occasion to conclude, *This Man is not of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath day. John 9. 16.* (3.) He represented their Scribes and Pharisees as the most

F 2

gross,

gross, deluding Hypocrites, Men blind and foolish, Men busie about Mint and Cummin, whilst they neglected the most substantial matters of the Law, yea as Children of *Satan*, a *Generation of Vipers*, who could not escape the Damnation of Hell, *Matth.* 23. 13, 15, 19, 23. Whereas the *Jews* esteemed them Men of the greatest Piety and Knowledge, saying, proverbially, that *if Heaven were reserved for two Men only, the one would be a Scribe, and the other a Pharisee*. He represented their whole Nation as Men who neither did observe, nor believe the Law of *Moses*; who had no real love to God, nor a true knowledge of him; such as pretended to be the Seed of *Abraham*, but were indeed the Devil's Children; and as People whom no Reason could reclaim, they having shut their Eyes, made gross their Hearts, and stopped their Ears, lest they should be converted, and healed. *John* 5. 49. -- 7. 19. -- 5. 38, 42. -- 8. 44. *Matth.* 13. 15, 16. (4.) He represented their Traditions, for which they had so great a reverence as to make them of equal Authority with the written Word, as foolish and absurd, and such as did evacuate the Law of God; he also taught the abolition of the Law which they esteemed eternal, the ruin of their famous Temple, and the destruction of their Nation by a Doom more severe than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, and with

such tribulation, as never was before, and never should hereafter be.

And now 'tis obvious to consider, how hardly we can brook the Man who blasts those Things and Persons for which we have the greatest kindness and concern, and from which we expect our chiefest Happiness; that 'tis a thing most difficult to sentence and condemn our selves as vile and hypocritical, when we are zealous, as we do imagine, for the cause of God; and lastly, it is certain that Men are slow to credit what they are most unwilling should be true, and what doth contradict those Tenets, they have embraced as the greatest Truths.

C H A P. III.

The C O N T E N T S.

Among the generality of the Heathen Philosophers, all things were counted dubious and uncertain, §. 1. Particularly, some of them denied the Being of a God, others his Providence, and most of them owned their uncertainty of these things, §. 2, 3. The evil effects which this uncertainty must have upon their Lives shew'd, §. 4. And farther verify'd in the Lives of the Philosophers, and the little reformation wrought by their Philosophy, §. 5. In some things they questioned God's Omnipotence, §. 6. And his Omniscience, §. 7. Some of them held, that God would not shew Grace and Favour to us; and all of them, that He would not be angry with us for our Offences, §. 8.

§. I. **A**S for the Heathen Philosophers, let it be noted, 1st, That among the generality of them, all things were counted dubious and uncertain; the common issue of their search after their Duty to God and Man, and the foundation on which they do entirely depend, was mostly Scepticism, and the most knowing Men were they who did renounce all knowledge

of them. 'Tis easie, saith ^r *Cecilins*, to manifest that in humane Affairs, *omnia sunt dubia, incerta, suspensa*, All things are dubious and uncertain. The various apprehensions of wise Men, saith ^r *Cicero*, will justify the doubtings and demurs of *Scepticks*, and it will then be sufficient to account them malepert, *Si aut consenserint alii, aut erit inventus aliquis qui quid verum sit invenerit*; When others do consent about it, or any one hath found out the truth; we say not that nothing is true, but that some false things are annexed to all that is true, *Tantâ similitudine ut iis nulla sit certa judicandi & assentiendi nota*, and that with so much likeness, that there is no certain Note of judging what is true or assenting to it. It was this obscurity of things, saith ^r *He*, which brought *Socrates, Democritus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles*, and almost all the Antients, to the confession of their Ignorance, saying, *Nihil cognosci, nihil percipi posse*, nothing could be known or perceived, Truth lay buried in the deep, Men were held by Opinions and Ordinances, *Nihil veritati relinqui*, no place being left for Truth. Lastly, They said, *Omnia tenebris circumfusa esse*, that all things

^r Apud Minut. p. 4.

^r De Nat. Deorum, l. 1. n. 10, 11.

^r Acad. qu. l. 1. n. 30, 31.

were involved in darkness: We, saith ^u He, deny not that something may be true, *Percipi posse negamus*, but we deny it can be perceived so to be; for, *Quid habemus in rebus bonis & malis explorati*, what have we certain concerning what is Good and Evil? Nor for this, saith He, are we to be blamed, but ^w *Nature which hath hid the Truth in the deep*. Of this opinion, saith ^x *Seneca*, were *Protagoras*, *Nausiphanes*, *Parmenides*, *Zeno Eleates*, the *Pyrrhonians*, *Megarici*, *Eretrici*, *Academici*; and tho' he himself professes he is angry with them, and *Epictetus* derides and solidly confutes them, yet ^y *Antoninus* confesses that things are *εν τοιαύτη ὀποκαλίψει*, in such obscurity, that not few nor vulgar Philosophers have pronounced them *ἀκατάληπτα*, such as could not be perceiv'd, and that the *Stoics* themselves pronounced them *δυσκατάληπτα*, difficult to be perceiv'd. And yet this opinion, as ^z *Arrian* well argues, tends to weaken all Piety and Holiness, all Justice, all our notions of Good and Evil, Vice and Virtue; for if we cannot perceive what is so, if, as to these things, we are wholly in the dark, and without any certain Note by which we can judge of them, what reason can we

^u Acad. qu. 1. 2. n. 66, 120. ^w Naturam accusa quæ in profundo veritatem penitus abstruserit, n. 32. ^x Ep. 88. ad finem. ^y L. 5. §. 9. Vide Gataker, in locum. ^z In Epict. l. 2, c. 20.

have to be Pious, Just, or Virtuous? Nor can ^a Cicero ever answer his own Arguments, viz. That there can be no Rule of True and False, or Right and Wrong, where there is no perception of what is so, no certain Note of judging, or assenting to any thing as such; for to say, with him, that we must be directed by what is probable, and likely, will not do the work, provided we cannot perceive and know when any thing is probable, and likely. (2.) That ^b no Man can be constant in a course of Virtue, or have just cause not to betray his Faith and Trust under great sufferings, *Si nihil haberet comprehensi, percepti, cogniti, constituti*; for if he can know or perceive nothing, he can perceive no reason why he should continue Virtuous, and know no hurt in falsifying of his Faith and Trust.

§. II. To proceed to Particulars; it is evident to demonstration, that all Religion must be overthrown, and the most vile and pernicious Practices can have no restraint, if,

1st, There be no God to help or punish us. Or,

^a Acad. qu. 2. n. 33.

^b Nullo igitur modo fieri potest ut quisquam tanti æstimer æquitatem & fidem, ut ejus conservandæ causa nullum supplicium recuset, nisi iis rebus assensus sit, quæ falsæ esse non possunt, n. 24.

2dly, If he want Power or Wisdom so to do. Or,

3dly, If he want will to do it.

Now Power he must want, if,

1st, He want Power to supply our Wants, or punish our Offences: Or,

2dly, If he want Wisdom to discern our Wants or Wickedness: And,

3dly, If he be not always present with us, when we want his Aid, or violate his Laws: Or,

4thly, If his Hands be tied up by an inexorable Fate: Or,

5thly, If there be an equal Anti-God to oppose him: Or,

6thly, If there be such evil in that Matter of which we are composed, that he cannot rectifie it.

He must want Will to do it,

1st, If there be no over-ruling Providence.

2dly, If there be no future Recompence.

3dly, If there be no Grace, or Favour, or no Anger in the Deity.

4thly, If we rob him of the service due to him, and give it to them which by Nature are no Gods.

5thly, If we either seek not his favour, or only seek it in such ways as are the highest provocation and dishonour to him.

§ III. Now some of all these things we find maintained by the *Philosophers*, or contained in the *Theology* of the *Heathens*; and we find also their wise Men confessing their uncertainty, their doubtings, and fluctuations, in these Foundations of all Piety and Vertue: And,

1st, Among those who openly, and in words denied the Being of a God; and saith ^c *Cicero*, *Apertè Deorum naturam sustulerunt*, are reckoned by ^d *Sextus Empyricus*, ^e *Plutarch*, and ^f *Laertius*, *Democritus*, and *Theodorus*, *Diagoras*, *Enumerus*, and *Euripides*: Others who durst not openly profess this, shewed their Inclinations to it in their private Discourses. *Bion B.* spake many things, ^g *αθεώπρεπον*, like an *Atheist*, which he had learnt from *Metrodorus*. It is difficult, saith ^h *Cicero*, to deny this in publick, but in such a Meeting and Discourse as we have now, it is very easie, *Multa enim occurrunt quæ perturbant, ut interdum nulli esse videantur*, for many things happen which so disturb us, as to make us sometimes think there are no Gods. The *Persian Magi*, saith ⁱ *Philostratus*, call upon

^c De Nat. D. l. n. 14. ^d S. Empyr. l. 3. c. 24. ^e De pl. Phil. l. 1. c. 7. ^f D. Laert. l. 2. p. 152. ^g Laert. l. 4. p. 259. ^h De Nat. Deorum, l. 1. n. 43. ⁱ Μαῖστοι ἐμπελαῖζον μὲν οἷς ἀθανάτων θεῶσι, ἥ δὲ ἐκ παλαιῶν δόξαν ὅτι θεοὶ καὶ ἀνθρώποι.

the Gods in their secret Mysteries, but they destroy the common Doctrine of the Deity. Many who neither publickly nor privately denied them, declared their great uncertainty both of their Being, and their Providence; among those *Lucillus* in ^{*} *Cicero* reckons *Empedocles*, *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus*, *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, *Plato*, and *Socrates*; *Pherecydes Syrus*, saith ¹ *Theopompus*, was the first that writ, *ὅτι φύσεως καὶ θεῶν*, of Nature and the Gods, and saith he, I have no certainty of what I write, nor do I profess to know the truth, *ὅσα δ' ἂν ἐπιλέγῃ* (1. γω) *θεολογῶν, τὰ ἄλλα χρηνοεῖν, ἀπαντα γὰρ αἰνιόσασθαι*, but what things are spoken by me as a Divine, are to be understood otherwise, for I speak all things ænigmatically. ² *Melissus* said, That no Man ought to pronounce any thing of the Gods, there being no knowledge of them. I have nothing to affirm of the Gods, saith ³ *Protagoras*, *εἴθ' ὥς εἰσιν εἴθ' ὥς ἔκ εἰσιν*, whether they be, or they be not; this, saith *Philostratus*, he learned from the *Persian Magi*, and for this he

^{*} Vos cum perturbare Philosophiam benè constitutam vultis, Empedoclem, Anaxagoram, Democritum, Parmenidem, Xenophanem, Platonem, etiam & Socratem profertis. Acad. qu. 1. 2. n. 14.

¹ Diog. Laert. l. 1. p. 76, 77.

² Περὶ θεῶν ἐλεῖς μὴ δεῖν ἀναφαίνεσθαι, μὴ γὰρ εἶναι γινώσκουσιν αὐτοὶ, Diog. Laert. l. 9. p. 562.

³ Diog. Laert. l. 9. p. 576. Ménag. in locum p. 420.

was banish'd from *Athens*, and his Books burnt: ° *Plato* saith of the Father of the Universe, εὐρεῖν τε ἔρπον, εὐρεῖν τε εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους λέγειν, *it is hard to find him, and having found him, impossible to speak of him to all Men*: and being to speak of the Gods, and the Generation of the World, he Prefaceth his Discourse thus, * *it is fit for me who speak, and you who judge of what is spoken, to consider we are Men, ὥς τε περὶ τῶν εἰκότα μῦθον ἀποδέχομεν ὡς περὶ μηδ' ἐν ἐτι ὡς περὶ ζῆλιν, and not to expect any thing beyond a likely conjecture concerning these things.* And hence he introduceth *Socrates*, declaring that wise Men must confess, ° ὥτι περὶ θεῶν εἰδέν, ἔτε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἔτε περὶ ὀνομάτων, *that we know nothing either of them, or of the Names by which they call themselves.* ° *Cicero* having discoursed of God, of his Providence, and of his Wisdom in making the World, according to the Sect of the *Stoics*, he saith, *Latent ista omnia crassis occulta & circumfusa tenebris*, All these things are involved in great obscurity: He also begins his Discourse of the Nature of the Gods with this acknowledgment, that the Opinions of the most learned Men are so various and so opposite concerning them, as to shew, ° *Prudenter Academicos à rebus*

° In Tim. p. 1047. B. ° Ibid. E. ° Cratyl. p. 275. F. 276. A.

° Acad. qu. 2. n. 111, 112. ° L. I. n. I.

incertis assentionem cohibuisse, That the Academics did wisely abstain from assenting to things so uncertain : And speaking of their Religion, Piety, Sanctity, Ceremonies, Faith, Oaths, Temples, Shrines, and solemn Sacrifices, as all relating to the Being and Providence of the Gods, he adds, *Profecto eos ipsos qui se aliquid certi habere arbitrantur*, Sure they who think they know any thing certain about these things, will be forced to doubt of them, when they consider the Dissentions of the most learned Men about them ; and he concludes his Discourse thus, These things have I spoken of the Nature of the Gods, not to take it away, but to shew, *Quam esset obscura, & quam difficiles explicatus haberet*, how obscure it is, and hard to be explained. And * *Seneca*, speaking of the first Causes, according to the opinions of the *Stoicks*, *Aristotle*, and *Plato*, pronounce, saith he, *Quis tibi verissimillimum videtur dicere, non quis verum dicit, id enim tam supra nos est quam ipsa veritas*, who speaks most probable, not who speaks truth, for that is as much above us as truth it self. And * *Plutarch* brings in *Xenophon* complaining that Man can say εὐδὲν σαφές, nothing certain of

* Ibid. N. 11. Vide N. 2, 4, 13. & de Divin. l. 2. n. 6.

* Ep. 65. * De au. Poetis, p. 17. E.

the Gods. And *Socrates* in *Plato* Ἐξομνυό-
μενον, renouncing the knowledge of them
with an Oath, these being, saith he, the
things ἐν οἷς τὰ φιλοσόφους ἱλιγγιῶντας ὁρῶμεν,
in which we find the Philosophers in a
Vertigo. Of the Gods and Dæmons many
things are spoken by the *Grecian* Philoso-
phers, "Εἰρη" ὃ ἐκ σοχασμῶ τὸ πλείον, but they
speak mostly by conjecture, saith * *Porphyrus*.
Now when after all their Philosophical
Discourses concerning those Subjects upon
which all Religion and Piety, all Justice
and Humanity, Truth and Fidelity, de-
pend, we find them still uncertain what is
Truth, complaining of the obscurity and
the inexplicable difficulty of the Question,
declaring that they doubt and hesitate, and
find many things which incline to the other
side, professing they have nothing to deli-
ver on this Subject which is plain and cer-
tain, but only guesses and conjectures, they
in effect declare that all their fine Discourses
touching those important Subjects, could
have very little effect upon them to make
them virtuous, or to restrain them from
the vilest and most pernicious Practices;
for as † *Lucullus* argues well, this *Acade-
mical* uncertainty is inconsistent with any
constancy in Virtue, or any vigour in per-
suit of it.

* Epist. ad Aneb. † Acad. qu. l. 2. n. 25.

§. IV. Now as the *holy Scripture* doth assure us that ὁ διψυχὸς the *double-minded Man is unstable in all his ways*, and that ὁ διαχρονόμῃς, the *wavering Man* who reasons in his Heart whether these things be so or not, will never stand the shock of strong Temptations to desert the Faith, but will be now hoping and anon desponding, apt to quit his dependence upon God, and ready to cast off that Religion which subjects him to those Temptations from which he cannot confidently expect an happy issue. So the *Primitive Christians* declared, that ² he who walks in the Light & μὴ διψυχῇσιν, *will not be doubtful whether the Objects of his Faith be true or not*. Clemens R. informs us, that when he was an *Heathen*, he was still disquieted on account of the doubtfulness of all things: He had embraced this good Notion, which I wish some others, who are called *Christians*, would attend to, that in *rebus dubiis præstat vivere pie*, in matters doubtful 'tis Wisdom to live piously: But then, saith he, 'I thought again with my self, *How shall I be*

² Barn. Ep. §. 19.

^a Sed iterum reputabam mecum quomodo possim sub incerto justitiæ præmio a peccati me libidine continere; maxime cum etiam quæ sit illa justitia quæ Deo placeat apud me habeatur incertum, & neque si immortalis sit anima, ac ea sit quæ aliquid sperare possit agnoscam, neque quid certi futurum sit noverim. *Recogn. l. 1. §. 4.*

able to resist the strong lustings of my Soul to Sin, when I am uncertain of the reward of Righteousness, and I know not what is that Righteousness which will please God, nor whether the Soul be immortal, or whether it can hope for any thing, or whether there be any thing certain to be hoped for hereafter. And of the truth of this our Reason is sufficient to convince us; for seeing Faith is the spring and the foundation of all true Obedience, which therefore is in Scripture stiled *the obedience of Faith*; seeing this is necessary to be laid as the Root of all that Service we perform to God, for *he that cometh to God, saith the Apostle, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of all those who diligently seek him*, Heb. 11. 6. The weaker this Faith is, the more imperfect will our Obedience be, and the more difficult we shall find it to engage heartily in his Service; the more our doubts touching the great Objects of our Faith encrease, the more we shall still flag in our Obedience, since 'tis alone that Faith, which is *the expectation or assurance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen*, which doth enable us to overcome the World, to avoid, and fly from, rather than to enjoy *the pleasures of Sin for a season*, and to suffer Affliction, and even Death it self, in prospect of a better Resurrection, rather than

to accept of a deliverance with the loss of it; the weaker is this Faith, the more 'tis clogg'd with doubtings and distrust, the more unable it will be to grapple with the charms and allurements of those Pleasures, which, being objects of our Senses, and very grateful to the Flesh, and suitable to our inferiour Appetites, and our corrupted Inclinations, and certainly to be enjoy'd, will strongly tempt us to the gratification of them, when we have nothing certain to repel their force; and under great uncertainties and doubtings about future Recompences, we shall be less able to resist the terrors and affrightments, which fiery tryals and a cross present unto us to make us fall from our own steadfastness; these being things at which even Nature shrinks; and love to Life, and the enjoyments of it, doth render us exceedingly averse to; so that we hardly can think of them without the greatest horror. What therefore was to be expected from them who had nothing to fear besides those things which, by the generality of them, were counted Fables; nor any ground of better hopes hereafter, than some idle Tales of *Eris Arimenius*, and others, coming from the dead to give them notice of what was done in the inferiour Regions; or some Dreams or Apparitions like to those of *Scipio*, of an immortal state hereafter, which *Macrobius* seems unable

to defend from the Objections made against them?

§. V. And this is farther evident from these Considerations.

1st, That all their Disquisitions, and Disputations about God, his Providence, and his Worship, wrought no change in any of the most vile, ridiculous and cruel Rites which Superstition had establish'd every where, but rather tended to establish and confirm them by their Example, and their Precepts, they in their Practice submitting to the popular Error, and declaring that they thought all Men obliged to worship the Gods of their own Country, (as will hereafter be made evident) whereas *Christianity*, where-ever it was entertained, prevailed on all its Votaries to turn from their dumb Idols to the living God, and reduced them from Darkness into Light, and from the power of Satan unto God, obliging them to look upon the *Heathen* World, and the whole Race of their Progenitors, as the most vile Idolaters, and to detest as *Devils* what they formerly adored as *Gods*.

2^{dly}, That it wrought little or no Reformation upon others; it employed the Understandings, and amused the Heads of their Disciples, but left their Manners as

corrupt as ever ; I know but of one *Phædo* and one *Polemon* throughout all *Greece*, saith ^b *Origen*, who ever were the better for it ; whereas *Christianity* hath reduced its Myriads from Vice to Virtue ; on which account, if you do not own the truth of it, you must allow it to be highly beneficial to Mankind ; yea, saith he, even the worst of *Christians* are much better than the best of *Heathens* ; and this was so apparent that the Apostate ^c *Julian* found no better method to regain the lost credit of the *Heathens*, than by advising them to imitate *Φιλανθρωπίαν* καὶ *πεπλασμένῳ* *σεμανότητι* καὶ *βίῳ* the Charity and specious Sanctity of Life, and the severity against Vice they found among the *Christians*.

3dly, That it wrought none or very little Reformation on the *Philosophers* themselves : Some of the *Heathens* surmised that the ancient *Philosophers* lived better, but they ^d all generally confessed, and made it matter of complaint of the *Philosophers* of

^b Contra Celsum. l. i. p. 50.

^c Ep. ad Arfac. Pontif. Gall. Sozom. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 16. Naz. Stet. 1. p. 68, 69.

^d Nostri vero temporibus sub hoc nomine maxima in plebisque vitia latuerunt, non enim virtute & studiis ut haberetur Philosophi laborabant, sed vulgum, & tristitiam, & dissensientem a cæteris habitum pessimis moribus prætendebant. *Isidorian Instit. Orat. in Proem.* — Quotus enim quisque Philosophorum invenitur ita moratus, ita animo, & vita constitutus ut ratio postulat, qui disciplinam suam non ostentationis scientiæ sed legem vitæ putet, &c. *Cic. Tusc. qu. 2. n. 8, 9.*

their Times, that *omnes isti dicebant non quemadmodum ipsi vivebant, sed quemadmodum vivendum esset*, they only taught how others ought to live, but lived not themselves by their own Rules. And that this was so even in the Days of *Plato*, his own Words will not suffer us to doubt. *Zeno*, I think, is the only Person of whom *Dio- genes Laertius* gives this Character, that he led βίον ἀκόλαστον τοῖς λόγοις a Life suitable to his Doctrine; But whether this was said to his honour, or reproach, is disputable, if we consider, that tho' he used, saith he, * Whores seldom, yet Sodomy was his common practice, that he ^b allowed community of Women, commanding both Sexes to shew what Nature doth require them to conceal; that ⁱ all good and evil things were equally so; that a wise Man should be a *Cynick*, and might eat Human Flesh; and lastly, that ^k having hurt his Finger, he choaked himself, he allowing Self-murder in case of mutilation of a Member, or any severe Pain. And sure it was not very commendable to live or die according to these Rules: And the natural Reason of all this is evident; for since the

* Ὡς παντόνῃσι οἱ πλείστοι ἰόντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ, De Repub. p. 675. Seneca de beata vita, c. 20. Ep. 20. & 108. Agell. 13. c. 8. l. 17, 19.
ⁱ L. 7. p. 371. ^k P. 373. ^b P. 385, 448. ⁱ P. 386, 440, 441. ^k P. 382, 447.

Will is guided by the conviction of the Judgment, where that doth doubt and fluctuate, its influence upon the Will, especially when it's tempted to oppose its Dictates by the strongest Passions and natural Inclinations of the inferiour Soul, and by all the Pleasures of the Senses, must be inconsiderable; for whether we be moved by Hopes or Fears, the terrors of an Evil threatned, or the expectation of a future Good; the more we doubt of what we hope or fear, the less our Judgments will be satisfied, and so much the less able to prevail or stand their ground against the strength of our Affections, and the importunity of our Passions.

§. VI. 2dly, The Almighty Power of God, and his All-seeing Eye, is the foundation of all our present Hopes and Fears, and all our expectation of future Recompences: Now I acknowledge that most of the *Philosophers*, and many of the *Poets*, have spoken well of both these Attributes, and suitably to the Sentiments of *Christians*, especially when they are discoursing of Laws to be observed, and Rules of Government which are to be obeyed, because they, by the Light of Reason, saw the denial of these things had an apparent tendency to enervate the whole force of

Laws

La
mu
kn
Th
the
and
doe
the
of t
nion
ness
deter
vine
by lo
Judg
come
freely
Denn
that
make
Nec
canno
culars

1. 10. 99
Et
quâ me
& impio
Util
quam m
Religioni
câr, qu
talibus in
Cic,

Laws, and to subvert all Government. It must be believed, saith ¹ Plato, that God knows, and can do all things. Saith Cicero, That they are, *Rerum omnium moderatores*, the Lords, and Moderators of all things, and that ² they see what every Man is, and does, with what Mind and Piety he worships the Gods, and that he taketh an account both of the pious and the impious; for these Opinions are very ³ profitable to confirm the sacredness of Oaths, and of religious Compacts, to deter Men from Wickedness by the fear of divine Vengeance, and to make all Societies holy by looking upon the Gods as Witnesses and Judges of their Actions. Yet when they come to dispute with one another, they freely put the Question, ⁴ *Quis tibi dederit Deum omnia posse?* Who will grant this, that God can do all things? And Pliny makes this one of our great Comforts, *Nec Deum posse quidem omnia*, that God cannot do all things. To come to Particulars.

¹ Θεός κ' ὁρᾷ κ' ἀνέειν κ' δυνάμει πάντα. Plato de leg. l. 10. 955, 956. p. 1010, 1011.

² Et qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, quâ mente, quâ pietate Religiones colat intueri, piorumque & impiorum habere rationem, lib. 2. de legib. n. 13.

³ Utiles autem esse opiniones has quis neget cum intelligat quam multa firmentur Jurejurando, quantæ salutis sint fœdera Religionis, quam multos divini supplicis metus a scelere revocant, quam sancta sit Societas civium inter ipsos Diis immortalibus interpositis tum iudicibus tum testibus? n. 14.

⁴ Cic. Acad. qu. l. 2. n. 47.

1st, Some of them deny that fundamental Doctrine of Christianity, that God could raise the Dead, or restore Life to them: So ^p Pliny goes on, *Nec potest mortales immortalitate donare, nec revocare defunctos*, he cannot make mortal Men immortal, or recall the dead to life. After so many Ages, saith ^a Cæcilius, what single Person ever arose from the dead, *Ut ejus exemplo credamus fieri id posse*, to make us by his example to believe the thing is possible?

2^{dly}, They held it impossible that any thing should be made out of Nothing, and consequentially that Matter was ἀγρόντιον, uncreated, self-existent, and as eternal as God was. Thus *Timæus Locrus* pronounceth τὰν ὕλαν αἰδίου *Matter eternal*. And *Plutarch* saith, it is best to affirm with *Plato*, that the Substance and Matter of which the World was made, was ἡ γρομύνη ἀλλὰ ὑποκειμένη αἰεὶ τῷ δημιουργῷ, *not made, but always subject to the Maker of it*, ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῷ μὴ ὄντι ἢ γένεσις, *for Generation ariseth not from that which hath no Being, but from that which hath no regular Being*: He declared, saith *Origen*, ἡ μὲν ὕλη ἀρχὴ τῆς, καὶ (ὡς) γενέσθαι τῷ θεῷ, *that Matter was a first Principle*,

^p Hist. Nat. l. 1. c. 7. ^a Apud. Minut. p. 11. ^r Apud Plat. p. 1089.

^r De animæ procreat. ex Tim. p. 1014. B.

^r Apud. Menag. in Diog. Laert. l. 3. Sequ. 69.

and coeternal with God. This also was the Doctrine of the Stoicks, who held, saith *Diogenes Laertius* two Principles, God and Matter, the last eternal, and both ἀγῶντες καὶ ἀφθάρτους, *uncreated and incorruptible*. There must be something, saith *Seneca*, by which any thing is made, and something out of which it is made; the first is the Cause, the second is the Matter. That this was ἡ κοινὴ δόξα τῶν φυσικῶν the common Doctrine of the Naturalists, we learn from *Aristotle*, for, saith he, ἀδυνατὸν τὸ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γινεσθαι ὁμοῦ μὲν οὖν πάντες οἱ περὶ τὴ φύσιν, *all Naturalists pronounce it impossible that the World should be made out of nothing*. Hence *Cicero*, speaking of *Epicurus*, saith, *Ut ex nihilo aliquid fiat, nec ipsi nec cuiquam Physico placet*, that neither he nor any Naturalist would allow that any thing could be made out of nothing; and he enquires *Quis hoc Physicus dixit unquam*, what Naturalist ever said this? Now that this Opinion is contrary to the Omnipotence and Independency of God, and exalts Matter into an equality with Him, is fully proved by *Dr. Stillingfleet* in his *Origines Sacrae*, l. 3. c. 2. §. 10.

^u L. 7. p. 449. ^v Phys. l. 1. c. 5. ^{*} De fato, n. 15.
⁷ De divin. l. 2. n. 29.

3dly, They held there was such an Obliquity in that Matter of which we were made, as was not alterable by his Power; That this was the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, of *Plato*, and the *Stoicks*, is proved in the following Discourse of Providence, according to the Sentiments of the *Heathens*, where also we shall fully speak of their Doctrine of Fate, and of an *Anti-God*, or evil Principle, as things which tend to overthrow this Providence.

§. VII. Moreover, some of these *Heathens* shew their dislike of the *Christian* Doctrine concerning God's Omniscience, on which the Dispensations of his Providence depend, and of his knowledge of the secrets of our Hearts, and of things future and contingent. Thus *Cecilius* complains that the *Christians* had introduced a very troublesome, and impudently busie, God, who did, *in omnium mores, actus, omnium verba denique & occultas Cogitationes diligenter inquirere*, diligently enquire into the Manners, Actions, Words and secret Thoughts of all Men; whereas, saith he.
² God cannot be sufficient to observe all things in general and particular: And this

² Cum nec singulis inservire possit per universa districtus, nec universis sufficere in singulis occupatus. Apud. Minut. p. 10.

he borrowed from *Velleius* in *Cicero*, who makes the like complaint against the *Stoicks*, that they had imposed upon them an everlasting Lord, who was continually to be dreaded, *Quis enim non timeat omnia providentem & cogitantem & animadvertentem, & omnia ad se pertinere putantem*, for who can chuse to fear a God that provides for, and thinks upon, and marks all things, and thinks himself interested in all things? And *Cicero* himself declares it is beyond the reach of divine Wisdom to know things future and contingent, because this Prescience seems inconsistent with Contingency. And yet seeing all Good and Evil, natural and moral, excepting only those which flow from the necessity of our Nature, depend upon things future and contingent, if God cannot foresee, it is certain that he neither can forget them, nor can he provide against them; so that without this Prescience we cannot discern how God can govern the World, and Man in particular, on whose Actions, and the Events of them, the glory of God, and the good and safety of Mankind do so eminently depend.

^a De Nat. Deorum. l. 1. n. 39.

^b Mihi ne in Deum cadere videatur ut sciat quid casu & fortuito futurum sit, si enim scit, certe illud eveniet, si certe eveniet nulla fortuna est, est autem fortuna, rerum ergo fortuitarum nulla praesensio est. De fato n. 12, 13.

§. VIII. 3dly, God must want Will to help us, to relieve us in our Wants and Exigencies, or to punish us for our Offences.

1st, If he neither will be angry or offended with us, nor will shew grace and favour to us on the account of any of our Actions. The last Opinion seems almost proper to the School of Epicurus, whose avowed Tenet was this τὸ μακάριον καὶ τὸ ἀφθαρτον, ὅτε ὁρᾷς καὶ χάρισι (ὡνίχῃ), *that which is blessed and incorruptible, shews neither favour nor displeasure.* And this Opinion, saith Plutarch, robs us of all our hopes and comfortable expectations, and of all the pleasures of Religion; and yet he himself seems to render all our endeavours to obtain his favour and assistance vain, by saying, καὶ εἰ τοίνυν ὁρᾷς καὶ χάρισι (ὡνίχῃ) τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν πείσκειν, *that the Deity is not touched with anger, or with favour, but by his very Nature is induced to help, and to shew kindness to us, and is averse from being angry with us;* for this seems to render necessary his Kindness to us, and so to render it unnecessary that we should implore it, or should endeavour to render our selves fit objects of it.

• Plut. adv. Colot. p. 1103. • p. 1102.

But the other Opinion, that God would not be angry with us, or do us any hurt, was almost generally received by Philosophers; *Lactantius* is positive that, *Ita omnes Philosophi de Ira consentiunt*, they all agreed in this Opinion; and that the contrary Opinion, *Ut irascatur Deus, à Philosophis nec susceptum est unquam, nec aliquando defensum*, that God could be angry, was never either embraced, or defended by them. *Plutarch* is very zealous for this Opinion, that God can neither be angry with us, or do us any hurt; this he establisheth upon that celebrated Rule of *Plato*, that as Fire cannot cool, but heat; so what is Good cannot hurt, but profit: And *Porphry*, from *Plato*, saith the same on the same Principle; and therefore ^h he saith, it is the policy of wicked Spirits to engage us to offer Prayers and Sacrifices to instil into us this Opinion, that the good Gods may be angry: And indeed, *Plato's* Rule is this, *μη πάντων αἰτίον τ' θεόν, ἀλλὰ τ' ἀγαθῶν*, that God is not the cause of all

* L. de. Ira. c. 2.

* Ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὅτι, ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ἐδενδὸς ἐγείνει φθόνον, ὅτε ὀργή, ἢ μίσος, ἔτε γὰρ θερμὸν τὸ ψυχρὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θερμαίνειν, ὡς τὸ ἐδε ἀγαθὸν τὸ βλάπτειν, Ibid.

* De Abst. animal. l. 2. §. 41.

^h Τρέπεται ἐπὶ ληστείας ἡμᾶς καὶ θυσίας τ' ἀγαθοῦργων θεῶν ὡς ὀφισκυμένων, Ibid. §. 40.

* De Republ. l. 2. p. 606. A. B.

things,

But

things, but of good things only, and to say that he is the cause of evil to any Man, *ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐκείνου ἐστὶν* is by all means to be opposed, and no Man is to be permitted to affirm it. This also was the Doctrine of all the Stoicks, *In Dea iram non esse*, that there was no anger in God, that the immortal Gods neither would, nor could hurt us, as having *nullam vim nisi beneficam & salutarem*, no Power but what was beneficial and salutary, and therefore that no wise Man could fear them, *Furor est enim timere salutaria*, it being madness to fear what was salutary, and which, saith Antoninus, *ὁ θεὸς τι κακὸν ποιεῖ ὁ θεὸς βλάπτει* *ἔστιν*, never doth any evil, nor hurts any thing; and yet, as *Lactantius* well notes, *Summa omnis & cardo Religionis*, the sum of all Religion depends upon the contrary Persuasion, for neither do we owe any honour to God if he affords no favour to him that worships him, nor are we to be possessed with any fear of him if he be not angry with them that do not worship him; and to say with *Celsus*, That God is no more angry with Men than he is with Apes

^k Seneca de Ira. l. 2. c. 27. De Benefic. l. 4. 19. Ep. 95.

^l L. 6. §. 1. l. 2. §. 11.

^m Cap. 6.

ⁿ *ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐνεκα ὀργίζεται* ὡς δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ θεὸς μὴ ὡς δὲ τέτων ἀπειθεῖ, Apud Orig. in Celsum, l. 4. p. 229.

Mice, nor doth he threaten any evil to
 hem, is evidently the way to give all Men
 liberty to commit the greatest Crimes with-
 out fear of the divine displeasure.

CHAP. IV.

The CONTENTS.

That the denial of a Providence tends to the
 subversion of all Piety and Virtue, is owned
 by the Heathens, §. 1. This Providence
 was absolutely denied by Epicurus and his
 Sect, §. 2. His doing this to free Men
 from their fears and troublesome apprehen-
 sions, as it was vain and pernicious in re-
 spect of bad Men, so was it needless to good
 Men, and robb'd them of the joys and
 comfort of a virtuous Life, §. 3. Others
 held a general Providence, but thought it
 respected not partiicular Things and Per-
 sons, §. 4. Aristotle, and his Followers,
 confined this Providence to Heaven; See
 §. 3. The Stoicks, tho' they asserted a
 Providence, they weakened it by making
 all their virtuous Actions depend wholly up-
 on themselves, and destroyed it by making
 that God on whom it depends only an intel-
 ligent Body, and by the Doctrine of an in-
 exorable

exorable Fate, §. 5. The pernicious influence of this Doctrine, and what their supposed *αἰτεῖσθαι* was, Ibid. The Platonists and Pythagoreans destroyed that Providence they owned: 1st, By asserting a Fate depending on the Revolution of the Stars: 2dly, By confining the immediate Providence of God to the Celestial Beings, and leaving Men on Earth to the care of Genii and Dæmons, §. 6. This Doctrine introduced Idolatry into the World, and spread it through all Nations, and also made it necessary to approve all the ridiculous, vile and cruel Rites which obtained among them, §. 7.

§. I. 2dly, **G**OD must want Will to help us, if he doth exercise no Providence over us; and if he hath no regard to us, or to any thing we do or suffer, it must be vain for us to pay any service or regard to him. That the belief of the divine Providence is the foundation of all Piety, and that without it Religion can be nothing but an empty Name, is evident even from the voice of Reason, and the acknowledgment of the Heathen World: For, to what purpose should we pray to a God, who regards none of our Addresses; or hope in a God who is not concerned to help us? What should move us to love a God who bestows no good upon us, or

to fear a God who will inflict no evil on
 us, or to obey a God that regards not our
 actions? Indeed, how can we do it, there
 being no possibility of obedience or disobe-
 dience where he hath given us no Laws
 by which our Actions should be governed?
 Why should we thank him if we receive no-
 thing from him; why should we praise
 him if he be no ways beneficial to the
 World? Or, in what can we imitate him
 if he sits still and doth nothing; If he ex-
 ercise neither Power, Wisdom or Good-
 ness, Justice or Mercy, towards any of the
 Sons of Men? Hence ° *Cicero* puts the Que-
 stion thus to the Followers of *Epicurus*,
Quæ pietas ei debetur à quo nihil acceperis,
 what can we owe to him who deserves no-
 thing from us? *Est enim pietas justitia erga*
Deos, for all Piety is an act of Justice to-
 wards the Gods; whereas, if there be no
 communion between God and Man, what
 right or justice can there be between them?
*Sanctitas autem est scientia colendorum Deo-
 rum*, Sanctity is the knowledge of that wor-
 ship which belongs to them; but who,
 without he, can understand why they should
 be worshipped, if we neither receive nor
 hope for any good from them? In the be-
 ginning of his Treatise of the Nature of

° De Nat. Deorum, l. i. n. 81, 82.

the Gods, he observes, that all their sacred Ceremonies, Temples, Shrines, solemn Sacrifices, Oaths and religious Compacts, depended on the question of this Providence; and if, saith he, the Opinion of those *Philosophers* who deny it, be own'd to be true, ^r *Quæ potest esse pietas? quæ sanctitas? quæ Religio? aut quid est quod ullos diis immortalibus cultus, honores, preces adhibemus?* What Piety, Sanctity, or Religion can remain? Or, what reason have we to tender any Worship, or Honour, or offer any Prayers to the immortal Gods? And therefore ^a he declares that *Epicurus* by taking from the immortal Gods all help and favour, had utterly extirpated all Religion; as having removed that which is most proper to the best, and the most excellent Nature; there being nothing better than Goodness and Beneficence, which being once removed from the Gods, there is nothing which can render them the objects of our love. And ^r *Plutarch* saith, the *Epicureans* did in Name and Words allow Oaths, Prayers, Sacrifices, and Adorations, ^a *ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς νόμοισιν ἀναγκαστοί, but by their Principles and Decrees did overthrow them.*

^r Ibid. n. 3. 11.

^a Epicurus vero ex animis hominum extraxit radicem Religionem, cum Diis immortalibus & opem & gratiam sustulit.

Ibid. n. 84, 85.

^r Adv. Colot. p. 1112. C.

They also add, that by thus taking away all Piety and Religion, they had introduced into the World great Perturbation and Confusion, had dissolved humane Society, and made Truth or Fidelity, and Justice, a most excellent Virtue, fall together with them, and by that one Sentence by which they have taken away the Providence of the Gods, they have also overturned all Laws, and all Societies, saith Plutarch, τὸ τοῦ δὲ (ὡς ἐκείνου ἀπὸς κοινῆς νομοθεσίας ἔργον, *for that is the bond of all Community, and the foundation of all Laws.* That Justice is fundamentally destroyed by the denial of a Providence, is evident; for if God had given Men no Laws to act by, they can be under no Laws, and then there can be nothing unlawful, and therefore nothing unjust; if God hath given any Laws by which Men are to act, he must have given them in vain, or he must punish them who do not act according to them, and so must govern Men by Laws, which is one special branch of Providence, and Men must be unrighteous in robbing God of that Obedience which he of right requires. From the denial of this Provi-

Atque haud scio an pietate adversus Deos sublata, fides
am & societas humani generis, & una excellentissima virtus
tollatur. De Nat. Deor. l. 1. n. 3.
Color. p. 1125. E.

dence it also follows, that no Man is obliged to Fidelity, or to be true unto his Words, his Promises or Contracts; for if nothing be unlawful in its own nature, it cannot be unlawful for any Man to falsifie his Words, or use that liberty he had before by Words renounced. These Politicians tell us, that no Man can be obliged but by his own act, and that the essence of injustice is nothing else but *dati repetitio*, or the recalling that which we before had given; but if no Man be naturally obliged to any thing, he cannot be obliged to stand to his own act, and so it cannot be unlawful or unjust for him voluntarily to undo what he before had voluntarily done; so that tho' it be true that if Justice depend upon a Law of Nature, Covenants must oblige us, yet on the contrary supposition, that there is nothing naturally unjust, it cannot be unjust to break our Covenants, so that Covenants without natural Justice are nothing but mere Words; and when natural Justice is once discarded, and all truth and obligation to perform our Promises and Covenants dissolved, how is it possible that humane Society, which fundamentally depends upon them should subsist? And therefore "Pliny, who had represent-

* Irridendum vero agere curam rerum humanarum illud quicquid est summum, l. 1. c. 7. p. 10. Verum in his agere curam rerum humanarum credi ex usu vitæ est, p. 11.

ed it as a ridiculous thing, to think that God took care of humane Affairs, is in the same place forced to add, that 'tis useful to have this believed.

Thus have we seen the necessity of a belief and firm persuasion of an over-ruling Providence both to the preservation of Society and Justice, and to the welfare and even subsistence of Societies, let us now see how this was either openly and directly, or secretly and consequentially overthrown by the various Sects of *Philosophers* and *Heaven Sages*. And,

§. II. 1st, This Providence was absolutely deny'd by the prevailing Sect of *Epicurus*, who stiled it, in derision, *anum fanaticum Stoicorum*, the old Hag of the *Stoicks*; and laid it down as an unquestionable Axiom, *That what was blessed and immortal, gave neither any trouble to it self nor others*; * *That neither help nor favour, had or displeasure can belong to it.*

§. III. And whereas he espoused this Tenet chiefly to free Men from their Fears and troublesome Apprehensions of the

Velleius apud Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. n. 14.

Οὐ γὰρ συμπάρῃσι περὶ μαλῆται καὶ φρονίῃδες ἀρῶσι καὶ μακαρίῳτι, Epicur. apud D. Laert. l. 10. p. 634.
de Nat. Deorum l. 1. n. 33. De Divin. l. 2. n. 81, Sen. Benef. l. 4. c. 44,

Gods, of Death, and what might follow after death; and his Followers bragged that they were ^v *his terroribus ab Epicuro soluti*, freed by Epicurus from those Fears. In this he seems to have shewed his Weakness, as much as in the Doctrine he maintained. For,

1st, This was a vain attempt to do what neither Epicurus did, nor could do, it being evident from the experience of Mankind, that wicked Men are grievously afflicted with these Fears, and that they are not able wholly to exempt themselves from these effects and workings of a natural Conscience; and why is this, but that the most vigour of their Reason, assisted with the strongest bent of their Desires and Endeavours to stifle these effects of Conscience, can give them no assurance of an exemption from the Evils which they dread it being with the generality of them, Cicero saith it was with Epicurus, *Quo nec ea quæ timenda esse negabat timebat, mortem dico & Deos*, they being in continual dread of that which they teach others not to fear. For this ² Plato hath observed, that this dread then chiefly seizes upon the *ἰπιδαν τὸς ἐγὼς ἢ τὸ οἰεῖσθαι τελευτήσεν*, when

^v Velleius apud Cicer. de Nat. D. l. 1. n. 40. Acad. quæst. 112.
² De Repub. l. 1. p. 573. F.

if *them* thinks *he* is near to death; for the
 stories of Hades, or Punishments after death,
 which were καλατελώνμοι τῶς laugh'd at
 while they were well, τότε ὅς τρεῖσιν αὐτῶς τῷ ψυ-
 χῷ μὴ ἀληθεῖς ὦσι, do then trouble his Soul
 lest they should prove true. And very ratio-
 nal is this Fear, themselves being judges;
 for therefore, saith their beloved Epicurus,
 the unjust, and violators of the Laws of
 Men, must ἀθλίως ζῶντες καὶ φοβούμενοι live miser-
 ably, and in continual fear, since that tho'
 they may lie hid, οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ τὸ λαθεῖν λαθεῖν
 ἀδωαλὸν εἶναι, it is impossible they should be
 certain that they shall not be discovered. And
 in like manner, to exempt them also from
 the terrors of that future Judgment, which
 from the inward workings of their Consci-
 ence they are taught to fear, they must not
 only hope God may not, but must be certain
 that he will not, call them to a future Ac-
 count, or punish them for their Impiety
 and Prophaneness; for Man doth natural-
 ly fear what may befall him, tho' it be not
 certain; and still the greater, and more
 lasting is the Evil, the more tormenting is
 the Fear: Now, can any Man be abso-
 lutely certain that there is no Providence
 at present ruling in the World, that a God
 infinite in Goodness should be unwilling to

* Plut. non posse suavis p. 1090, c.

do good, and he who hateth all Iniquity should do nothing to discountenance that Evil which bears an infinite contrariety to his Nature? Or that there will be no future Recompences; that God sees all things as an idle Spectator, looking with the same indifference on those that love, and are most like to his Nature, and on those who hate, blaspheme him, and are alienated from the life of God? In a word, I think it certain that more *Philosophers* and *Christians* have conquered that natural abhorrence which we have to Pain and Sicknes, and even Death it self, than there be *Atheistical* Spirits who have been able wholly to exempt themselves from the disturbance of an evil and condemning Conscience; and then there is no reason to conclude the latter is less natural than the former.

2dly, This attempt is as pernicious to Mankind, as it is vain and fruitless; for the sense of such a Providence as ruleth in the World, and such a Being as will deal with all Men according to their Works, as it is suitable to the Holiness and Justice of the Divine Nature, to his love of that which renders us most like unto, and his hatred of that which is repugnant to his Nature; so is it absolutely necessary to deter Men from Injustice, Falshood, Cruelty, disturbance of the Peace of others, and to restrain

restrain them from being Wolves and Tygers to each other. Many deny the truth of these Doctrines, saith *Cicero*, *utiles autem esse has Opiniones quis neget?* but who can deny them to be profitable? Even that *Pliny* who derided this Doctrine of a Providence, yet holds it useful to believe, *pœnas maleficia aliquando seras, occupato Deo in tanta mole, nunquam autem irritas esse*, that evil-doers may be punished late, but that they never can escape due Punishment. Of this we are assured from the concurrent suffrage of all Nations, and all Ages, they having always had their Laws to deter Men from doing Evil, and looked upon their Gods as the Avengers of those who did transgress them. Hence all that have ever made Laws for Societies, as *Lycurgus* for the *Lacedemonians*, *Numa* for the *Romans*, *Ion* for the *Athenians*, *Deucalion* for all the *Grecians*, saith *Plutarch*; and all that have writ about Laws and Common-wealths, as *Zeno*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Cicero*; have laid this as the foundation of them, that the Gods are the Inspectors of all things, *piorumque & impiorum habere rationem*, and take an account of good and wicked Men, and will deal with them accordingly; and thought it necessary to reject those vile Opinions

• Nat. Hist. l. i. c. 7.

which

which either maintained there was no God, or held, τὸ θεῖον μὴ ἔχειν ἕως ὅτι τὸ ἄνθρωπων γένος ὥς ἐπελέπειν αὐτὸ καὶ φρονιζεν, ἀλλ' ἔαν, καὶ καλολιτορεῖν, *that he did not inspect or take care of Man, but let him alone and disregarded him*; which opinion, saith Hippodamus, being once received, the folly and injustice which it will produce must be beyond expression; and therefore Epicurus did wisely in permitting his wise Man ἐπεὶ πολλὰ δέσσει, ἐπεὶ τυραννέσσει, neither to employ himself in governing a Kingdom, or a Common-wealth, or even interest himself in publick Affairs, because he saw his Principles were inconsistent with all Government; and therefore saith in *Seneca, quæ Ego scio non probat populus, quæ probat populus, Ego nescio*, the Populace approves not my Notions, nor do I skill what they approve of. Moreover, seeing all Evil is contrived in the Heart, and thence proceeds to Action in the Tongue and Hand, and seeing humane Laws only take cognisance of outward Actions, were there no Eye to see, no Wisdom to take notice of that inward fountain of all Wickedness, Men could not be deterred from contriving the most pernicious Designs, and when Lust is thus conceived in the Heart, and

• Apud. Diog. l. 10. p. 653. • Ep. 79.

that is *fully set in them to do evil*, they will be scarce restrained from the practice of it: So necessary is this belief of an All-seeing Eye and over-ruling Providence to the well governing of the World, and to the Peace and Welfare of Societies. Wherefore,

3dly, He ought to have considered that the belief of such a Providence as doth inspect our Thoughts and Actions, and doth enquire into our Manners, and our very Words, is only troublesome to them whose Hearts condemn them for the evil of their Lives and Manners, whose Words, Thoughts, and Actions, are plainly opposite to the Dictates of their Reason, and who think, speak, and do, what they do inwardly perceive to be unworthy of a Man; that is, to them who are the Pests and Corrupters of the Civil Government, and the Bane of the Societies in which they dwell; and that such Persons should be terrified by the sense of divine Judgments ready to seize upon them, and by the terrors of a future Judgment from their pernicious ways, which is the first design of Providence in all the Punishments inflicted on them in this present Life, is for their great advantage; or if they prove incurable, that they should not only fear, but should be thought to suffer far more dreadful Evils in another state, is for the benefit and welfare of the whole Society.

4thly,

4thly, He ought to have considered that the Principles he hath espoused as the most proper method to free Mankind from all these Fears and Troubles, do as entirely rob all Men, and more especially good Men, of all the remedy which they can have against the Evils which they fear; certain it is that whilst we do continue in this World, whether Providence, or Chance, do govern, we shall be subject to the fear of all Calamities, to which we find humane Nature lies exposed; but then the happy difference is this, that he who heartily believes that Providence inspecteth all our Thoughts, and Actions, and lives agreeably to that Persuasion, hath Faith, and Hope, and Trust in God to moderate these Fears, and a comfortable expectation of a good issue from them, and a reward of all his Patience under them, to mitigate and to alleviate the evil of them. This one Consideration, saith *Hermogenes* in *Plutarch*, that where-ever I am, and whatever I do, the Gods who know, and can do all things, love me so * *ὡς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μὲν* as always to take care of me, doth beget in me *δάρεσθαι ἀμύχανον* an invincible Confidence; whereas he that rejects a Providence hath Fear without Hope, and when the Evil is inevitable

* Non posse suav, p. 1103. B. C.

by humane Power, Fear turned into Despair: They leave themselves, saith Hermogenes, no refuge against Calamities, but are forced cowardly to fly to an Halter ^{ὡς εἰς μίαν κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀπὸ θανάτου} as to their only Port and Refuge.

Lastly, By the same Principles and Method they entirely robb'd good Men of all the joys and pleasures of true Piety, and all their comfortable hopes and expectations of a future Recompence and blessed Immortality; and upon this account ^{Plutarch} doth chiefly argue that a Man can never live pleasantly upon the Principles of Epicurus, because he by them had cut off ^{τὸ εὐέλπι καὶ τὸ ἀσχετὸς καὶ παρὰ ἐμπροστίας ὄντων} all our good expectations, and our joys, and the advantages of doing well, and the immense pleasures which we hope for after death: To believe an over-ruling Providence, and live well, are two of the most chearful, hopeful, comfortable things we can imagine; for what is there that a good Man cannot hope for from a God infinite in Power, Wisdom, and Goodness, and who delights in shewing kindness to good Men? And the belief of an immortal state where we for ever shall be capable of his Favour, and the continual expressions of his Good-

^f Ibid. C. ^g Non posse suav. p. 1101. D.

ness, gives us a perfect triumph over death, and renders all the Evils which we suffer with patience and resignation, fresh objects of our hope; and therefore we may rationally enquire with ^h *Plutarch*, πῶς ἂν ἀνίστηται τὸ αἰώνιον ἀγαθὸν ἐλπίδα στερῆσθαι, καὶ ἀκροβόλου εὐδαιμονίας ἀποβαλεῖν, *must it not be bitter to be deprived of the hopes of everlasting Blessings, and to lose the supremest Happiness?* Whereas the deniers of a Providence can have no object of their Faith and Hope, for they can never rationally expect any help or favour from that Deity, which doth not, say they, in the least regard their Actions; and for a Man under the sharpest Miseries of this present Life to take refuge with them in the thoughts of death, is, as 'tis well observed by ^a *Plutarch*, but such another kind of comfort, as if you should tell a Man in a Storm at Sea, tho' the Ship hath no Pilot, and there is no hopes of weathering the Storm, he need not be afraid, for in a little while it will split and sink, and being drown'd, the Storm will trouble him no more.

^h P. 1106. D.

^a Ibid. 1103. C. D.

§. III. 2dly, * Aristotle and his Followers confined this Providence to Heaven, but left all sublunary things entirely destitute of the care of God, Angels, or Demons, so that † Origen, Chalcidius, and others, declare they took away all Providence; and † Ar-
 ticus saith, that his opinion was the same as to the Interests of Vice and Virtue with that of Epicurus; it being all one as to us to have no Providence at all, as to have none that takes care of us, Men being by this latter opinion equally deserted by the Gods, and equal impunity being given by it to those who do unrighteousness.

§. IV. 3dly, Others believed there was a general Providence, which kept all Kinds and Species of Beings in their continual Vicissitudes, but then they held that it respected not particular Beings; it heard and

* Οὐκ ἐμψυχον ἢ κόσμον, ἔτε προνοία διοικῶντων, τὰ δ' ἑρᾶνια τέτων ἀπάντων κοινωνεῖν, τὰ δὲ περὶ σεαυτοῦ μὴ δεῖν αὐτῶν. Plutarch de Pl. Philosoph. l. 2. c. 3. Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 48. Diog. Laert. l. 5. p. 286. Arrian in Epictet. l. 1. c. 12. Vide Arist. de mundo, c. 6.

† Origines mentionem facit ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ πάντας ἀναρῶντος ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς προνοίας. Contra Celsum. l. 3. p. 156. & l. 1. p. 17. Propterea tollit omnem providentiam. Chalcid. in Tim. Ed. Leyd. p. 345.

† Ἰσον γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὸ ἐν θεῶν ἀμελές εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἴση τοῖς ἀδικήσιν ἀπὸ θεῶν ἄδεια. Apud. Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 5. c. 5.

law

law things ^a καθόλου, καὶ μὴ καὶ μέρους, in general, but not in particular; saith Xenophanes Colophonius, it was regardful ^o ἀνθρωπίνων ἁποκοίνον ὃ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἔχει καὶ ἰδίαν ἑκάστη of humane Affairs in general only, but not of each Man in particular: So Arrian represents it, τῶν γένων καὶ εἰδῶν, ἐμὲ δεῖ, καὶ (ὃ ἔχει ἐτι, it regarded the Kinds and Species of Beings, but not me and thee in particular, saith Justin Martyr to Trypho: It is mindful, saith ^p Celsus τῷ ὅλῳ of the Universe, but is no more displeased with what Man doth, than with Apes and Mice; and therefore, according to this opinion, saith Arrian, it cannot be the end of Man ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Θεὸς to obey or follow God, and ^a Justin M. well observes, that this opinion gives as much licence to Man to commit all manner of Iniquity as any of the former Sentiments, as freeing them from fear of punishment, or hope of any good from God.

§. V. 4thly, The Stoicks were stiff Asserters of a particular Providence, but then they weakned the Doctrine of the Divine

^a Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. i. c. 8.

^o L. i. c. 12.

^p Apud. Orig. l. 4. p. 229.

^a Ποιεῖν τὸ ὅτι βέλων καὶ λείπειν, μήτε κόλασιν φοβεῖσθαι μήτε ἀσφαθὸν ἐλπίζουσι ἐκ Θεοῦ. Just. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 218.

Providence,

providence by saying, as *Balbus* the Sto-
k, *Magna Dii curant, parva negligunt*, the
ods were only concerned for great things,
ut neglected little things, to wit, the
ines and Fields of private Persons;
nd,

2dly, This they did more effectually by
aking all their virtuous Actions entirely
o depend upon themselves, and excluding
od from any ways contributing to it.
hus *Seneca* declares, that *sibi fidere* to de-
end upon our selves, is the cause and
rength of an happy Life, and therefore
hereas it was commonly said, *Si vis esse*
elix Deos ora, pray to the Gods for it if
hou wouldest be happy, he declares that
perpe est etiamnum Deos fatigare, 'tis unbe-
oming to be still wearying the Gods thus;
nd faith, *Quid votis opus est? fac teipsum*
licem, what need hast thou of Prayer?
ake thy self happy, labour to get the
nowledge of Divine and Humane things;
is is the chief Good, which being once
btained, *incipis Deorum esse socius non*
plex, thou beginnest to be not the Sup-
iant, but the Companion of the Gods:

De Nat. Deorum, l. 2. n. 125. At enim minora Dii negli-
nt, neque agellos singulorum, neque viticulas persequuntur,
lib. 3. n. 64.
Ep. 31.
Ep. 41.

And again, *stultum est optare cum possis te impetrare, non sunt ad cælum elevande manus*, it is folly to wish for that which thou may'st obtain from thy own self, thy Hands are not to be lifted up to Heaven for tho' *nemo sine Deo vir bonus*, no Man good without God; yet that God is within thee, he is only thy own Soul; which sometimes stiles God, and sometimes a part of God; yea, he adds, that a wise Man excels God in this, that God *natura beneficio non suo sapiens est*, is Wise from his Nature, not his Choice. Cotta in Cicero makes this a more general opinion; for saith he, *Judicium omnium mortalium fortunam à Deo petendam, à seipso sumendam esse sapientiam*, it is the sentiment of Mankind, that Wisdom is to be derived from our selves, the Goods of Fortune only to be desired of God; that it was generally owned that they received all the Emoluments and prosperous Events of Life from the Gods, *virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam retulit*, but no Man ever did ascribe his Virtue to divine assistance: And for this he appeals to the common practice of Mankind; for *all Men*, saith he, pray *Jupiter for Wealth and Safety*, non quod *justos, temperatos, sapientes efficiat*, but *for Justice, Temperance, and Wisdom*. The

" De Nat. Deorum, l. 3. n. 65, 66.

Also give thanks for all the Goods of Fortune they enjoy'd, and preservation from the Evils of this World, but not for Virtue and Goodness; *nam quis quod bonus sibi gratias egit Diis unquam?* for who ever give thanks to the Gods for his being good? In fine, *We are, saith he, praise-worthy for our Virtue, and we rightly glory in it, quod non contingeret si id donum à Deo à nobis haberemus, which would not be, if Virtue were the gift of God, and proceeded not from our selves.* *Arrian* saith, God hath established this as a Law, and saith, *If thou wouldest have any good, thou must take it from thy self.* Now by this opinion, saith *Maximus Tyrius*, they represented God unworthily, to wit, as one who is liberal in things of little moment, but difficult and parsimonious in respect of better things; And since, saith *Plutarch*, these outward things, in the opinion of the Stoicks, are not good and profitable, if God gives only

Τὸν νόμον τίθει ὁ θεός, καὶ φησὶν, εἰ τί θέλεις ἀσ-
φαλῆσαι σεαυτὸν λάβε. l. i. c. 29.
Πρὸς μὲν τὰ φαῦλα καλῶς καὶ ἀφθόνως ὡρασκόμε-
θα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ κρείττω ἀπορον. Dissertat. 22. p. 216.
Εἰ μὴ ἔν ὁ θεὸς ἀρετῇ μὲν ἐδίδωσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ
καλὸν, αὐθαίρετον δὲ, πλεον ἢ καὶ ὑψίστην χρεὶς ἀρετῆς
ἔσθ'· εὐ χρησομένοις δίδωσιν ἀλλὰ κακῶς, τέλει
βερῶς καὶ ὀλεθρείως, καίτοι εἰ μὴ δύνανται ἀρετῇ πα-
ρεῖν οἱ θεοί, ἐκ εἰσὶ χρηστοὶ μὴ παρέχοντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ
αὐτοὶ ποιεῖν ἀσάθεος ἐδ' ὠφελεῖν δύνανται, μηδενός τε ἢ
αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀσάθεος μὴδ' ὠφελίμην, De Stoic. repugn. 1048.
adv. Stoic. p. 1075. E.

these things, and gives not Virtue to improve them, he doth us no good, but rather hurt; and if they, saith he, take away the notion of a God who take away his Providence, they equally do it who say, *περνεῖν μὴ τὰς θεῶν ἡμῶν, μὴ ὠφελεῖν ὃ ἡμᾶς, μὴδὲ ἀγαθῶν εἶναι δυνάμεις*, the Providence of God doth us no good, nor do the Gods give us any good thing, but only that which is indifferent.

3dly, They destroyed this Providence by making that God whom they assigned as the Administrator and Conservator of all things, to be only, saith *Plutarch*, *νοεργόν*, an intelligent Body, and Jupiter to be Fire. This opinion, tho' some would free them from, yet their Friend *Lipsius* confesseth. *Diogenes Laertius* says they owned two Principles, an Agent and a Patient *ἀλλὰ καὶ (ὡμάτια εἶναι) τὰς ἀρχάς*, but held the Principles to be Bodies; and this reading is to be retained, as being confirmed by *Plutarch*, by *Porphyrus* in *Eusebius*, and by *Origen* against *Celsus*, in divers places. Now this *ὡμα νοεργόν* intelligent Body is a contradiction to it self, and to make all Providence depend upon it, is in effect to deny

^a De Com. Not. adv. Stoic. p. 1085. de facie in orbe lunæ p. 926. D.

^a L. 7. p. 449.

^b Οὗτοι (Στωικοὶ μὲν) σώματα φάσιν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν τὸ πάχον. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 15. c. 14. Οἱ στωικοὶ δὲ φασὶν ὅτι θεὸν σώματι. Orig. adv. Celsum. l. 1. p. 17. l. p. 156. l. 4. p. 169. l. 6. p. 325.

there is a Providence, it being in the nature of the thing impossible that any body should have Wisdom, and Foresight sufficient to discern, or Power sufficient to perform all things, or Will to do them.

And lastly, they fundamentally destroyed the benefit of this Providence, by introducing an inexorable Fate, or such a series or concatenation of Causes, as made all things inevitably happen as they did; for tho' they said, that Fate, and Jupiter, and Providence were one and the same thing, tho' they were great Asserters of the *αὐτεξούριον* the free motion of the Soul, and placed all their happiness in being concerned only for the *τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν* things which were in our own power; yet all this can be only an evidence of the Stoical repugnances, as Plutarch makes it, whilst they maintained this Fate to be *ἀντίαν ἀκίνητον, καὶ ἀχώλυτον, καὶ ἀβέβητον*, a Cause unmoveable by any endeavours that can be used, and which cannot be hindered or averted from producing the Effect; and define it an immutable series of Causes coherent to one another, so that all things are produced by this connexion of Causes, and call

^c De Stoic. repugn. p. 1056.

^d Immutabilis causarum coherentium series, Sen. ad Helvid. c. 8. Fatalis quædam necessitas quâ quicquid accidit id ex causarum continuatione fluxisse dicitur. Cicero de Nat. Deorum. l. 1. n. 30, 39. De divin. l. 1. n. 106.

it a fatal Necessity, by virtue of which whatsoever happens flows from a continuation of Causes: But then they speak of That, and Providence, and Jupiter, disjunctively, as of several and different Things and Hypotheses, even as different as Providence is from Chance or Fortune. All the liberty they allow to the Will is this, That it may chuse to do what, if Man doth refuse to do, Fate will compel him to do; and may refuse to do what, if he would do, he is by Fate necessitated to leave undone; and that because, saith Seneca, *Omnia certa & in aeternum dicta lege decurrunt, causa pendens ex causa*, all things run on by a certain and eternally established Law: *Olim constitutum est quid gaudens quid fleas*, it is of old ordained at what thou shalt Rejoice or Weep. One Cause depends upon another; *fata nos ducunt*, we are led by Fate. This they explain by the example of a Dog tied to a Cart's tail, he may follow without being drawn, but if he doth not, he must follow by being drawn, *τὸ αὐτὸ δ' ἡ περὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην*.

Ἔτοι ἀνάγκη εἰμυμὴν ἀπαράβατον τάξι, ἢ πείρα ἰλάσμιον ἢ θυμὸς. Anton. l. 12. §. 8, 14. Philosophandum est siue nos inexorabili lege fata constringunt, siue arbitrio Dei universi cuncta disponit, siue casus res humanas sine ordine impellit — si fatum, si Deus Rector est, si casus imperat. Sen. Ep. 16.
De Providentia, c. 5.

and this also is the case of Men, for ^s if they will not follow Fate, they shall by all means be necessitated to come under the Laws of Fate.

Now this ἀντεξέσσιον μετ' ἀνάγκης Will lying under a necessity from an outward cause, that doth, and will lay restraints upon it, is indeed no Will; for as ^h Simplicius observes, No Man is said to act voluntarily who is thus necessitated to act, or not to act; and therefore as Scripture still puts Liberty and Necessity in opposition to each other, so Seneca himself insinuates the same by saying, *Si vis scire an velim, effice ut possim nolle*, if thou wouldst know whether I am willing to do so, permit me not to be so, i. e. permit me to do otherwise. Moreover this Fate therefore destroys the liberty of our Desires, Choice, and consequently of our Actions, because it introduces an external and antecedent Cause on which they do depend as the Effect upon the Cause, and from which they of necessity result; for a Cause being that, ⁱ *quæ id efficit cujus*

^s Καὶ μὴ βυλόμενοι τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν ἀναγκαδίῃσιν ὅτι πάντως εἰς τὸ πεπερωμένον εἰσελθεῖν. lib. ined. apud Menag. in Laert. illud de Stoic. καθ' ἐμψυμένῳ ὃ φάσι τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι. l. 7. p. 459. ἄγε με—σὺ ἢ πεπερωμένη ὑποὶ πότε ὑμῖν εἰμι διατεταμένη, ὅς ἐφομαι γὰρ ἀκούει, καὶ ὃ γὰρ μὴ θέλω ἢ δὲν ἢ τὸν ἐφομαι. Epict. c. 37.

^h Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐξωθεν ἀναγκαζόμενος τί ποιεῖν, ἢ μὴ ποιεῖν, ἀντεξέσσιος ἐνδύειν λέγει. p. 23.

ⁱ Cic. de fato. n. 26,

tue in our Actions, nothing which can deserve praise or dispraise, because there is no freedom in them; that Man is neither capable of Duty or Reward, of Crime or Punishment; for what is not in his power to avoid, cannot be his Duty to avoid, nor his Sin that he doth not avoid it; nor can it be just in God to punish him for not avoiding it, nor any act of Justice in him to reward him for what he could not refuse to do: And if there be any Sin in the World, that God who made it necessary by such a series of Causes must be the Author of it. Lastly, This Doctrine, as *Eusebius* observes, fundamentally destroys all Religion, and renders all our Prayers and Sacrifices fruitless; for tho' Providence, saith *Antoninus*, may be ἱλασιμὸς placable by these means, yet fate is ἀκίνητος καὶ ἀπείροτος immovable and immutable, and so must be deaf to all our Prayers, and inflexible by all our propitiatory Sacrifices, and cannot repent tho' we do so.

And yet this Doctrine so pernicious prevailed not only among the Vulgar, but, saith *Simplicius*, most Men say that Fate is the cause not only of the περιστροφή revolution of all other things, but also καὶ τῶν ὁρεξίων καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ αἰρέσεων, of our an-

* *Præp. Evang.* l. 6. c. 6, p. 242. D.

° P. 18.

ticipations, and our Wills. Of this opi-
 nion, saith ^p Cicero, were Heracitus, De-
 mocritus, Empedocles, and Aristotle, to whom
 we may add from ^a Diogenes Laertius, Phi-
 lolaus, and from ^r Stobæus, Mercurius. This
 Fate most of them ascribed to the motions
 and conversions of the Stars; and hence,
 saith ^r Porphyry, the Gods foretel τὰ μιν
 ἐκ μέρους γινώσκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀστρον. Φορᾶς, *knowing*
what things shall fatally come to pass by the
revolution of the Stars, καὶ τὸτο χροῖον πάντες
 ἔξεραν οἱ ἀφ' αὐτῶν τὸ δεῖν, *and this almost all*
have declared who speak truly of the Gods:
 And ^r Simplicius saith, they who made Fate
 to be the cause of our Desires and Electi-
 ons, μὴ λυγρὸν τὴν ἀστρολόγας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ γῆ
 τῆς ἀστρον. Διότι, λέγοντας ὅτι ὁ ὅς μὴ φιλήδονος,
did this upon the Testimony of Astrologers
foretelling from the position of the Stars at a
Man's birth, that one will be a lover of Plea-
sure, and another of Riches; and ^u Sextus
 Empiricus adds, εἰ γὰρ μὴ πάντα γινέσθαι καὶ ἐκ

^p Cum duæ sententiæ fuissent veterum Philosophorum,
 una eorum qui censerent omnia fato ita fieri ut id fatum vim
 necessitatis afferret, in qua sententia Democritus, Heraclitus,
 Empedocles, Aristoteles sunt. De fato c. 29.

^a De Heraclito Diog. l. 9. p. 551. de Democrito p. 572. de
 Philolao l. 8. p. 543.

^r Οὗτο γόμοι ἀφ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅν πάντα τέλει. Mercur.
 apud Stob. Eclog. phys. p. 13.

^s Apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 6. c. 1. p. 236. D.

^p P. 18.

^u Contra Matth. l. 5. p. 116.

ὑπομνήματα

μὴ μὴ ἔστι χαλδαῖκή, that if all things be not done by Fate, there can be no such Art as that of the Chaldeans which depends upon Fate; both they and the Egyptians, saith he, pretending from their knowledge and observation of the Stars to tell, *Quid cuique eventurum, & quo quisque fato natus esset*, to what Fate every Man was born, and what should happen to every Man. Mercurius saith that Fate is the effect τῆ ἀστρονομίας of the disposition of the Stars, and that no Man can avoid or shun the force of Fate, ἐπὶ δὲ εἰρημύνης οἱ ἀστέρες, for the Stars are its Armory, and all things happen to Nature, and to Man according to it. And Origen complains that this opinion that all things happen'd upon Earth, and to every Man in particular, according to the Fate resulting from the complication of the Planets, and the Stars in the Zodiack, was not only the Doctrine of the Gentiles alien from the Faith, but also πολλῶν τῶν πεπιστευμένων ἐσθλῶν of many who had embraced the Christian Faith. And this necessity of all our Actions, most plainly follows from that great Revolution of all things which would produce in every Man all the same Actions he had done before; and yet this was em-

* De divin. l. 1. n. 2.

* Apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 6. c. 11. p. 281. B.

braced by most Sects of Philosophers, viz. by the Stoicks, Pythagoreans, Platonists, and Plutarch, who having laid down this for certain, that this long period must have Causes *ἐκαστὴ τὰ αὐτῆς ἔξ ἀναγκῆς φέρουσι* producing the same Effects necessarily in every thing; he illustrates it thus to his Friend Piso, Know therefore that by the same celestial Beings, as the Causes of all things, it is *καὶ τὸ ἐμὲ γράφειν νῦν τὰδε, καὶ ὡς σε τε γράτλει* *ἀπὸ καὶ ὅπως τοῖς ἄλλοις γράτλει*, that I now write these things, and that thou doest what thou doest, seeing that cannot be without some certain causality or influence of these Stars upon us, which shall necessitate all Men upon such a Revolution of them to do the same things which they had done before, whether they be good or evil: And therefore when Mercurius had taught this Doctrine to his Son Tatius, he forbids him to discourse of it among the vulgar Sort; for, saith he, if they know that all things happen according to this over-ruling Fate, they will be the worse, *τὰς δ' αἰτίας τῆ κακῆς εἰσπραττόμενοι ἀναφίγγουσιν, καὶ ἀφίξει ὡς πάντες ἐστὶ κακῆς*, and ascribing the causes of their Wickedness to Fate, they will never cease from it.

Hence therefore it is evident that the Providence asserted by the Stoicks, not only

1 Apud Stob. Ecl. Phys. p. 76.

robb'd us of the best effects of Providence, viz. Divine Assistance in Spirituals, or in promoting our Virtue, and by that our Felicity; but also rendred it ineffectual, by making the Author of it only *ἡμα νοερόν*, an intelligent Body, and thereby rendring it impossible he should have Foresight sufficient to discern our Wants, or Power sufficient to supply them, or Will to do it, and by laying us under that fatal necessity of acting, which necessarily destroys all Virtue and Religion.

§. VI. The Platonists and Followers of Pythagoras were also stiff Assertors of a Providence, declaring that all things happen'd *κατὰ θεῶν πρόνοιαν* according to divine Providence, especially to the good and pious, and that *οἱ θεοὶ εἰσὶν ἐμπροσθεν πάντων πραγμάτων καὶ μεζόνων* the Gods take care of all things great and little; but then they also said many things, which either weakned, or wholly overthrew this Providence: And this they did,

1st, By asserting a Fate so depending upon the Revolution of the Stars, that upon the same Revolution of them all things would be done by all as they were done before; so that the *Philosophers* must then

² Iambl. de vitâ Pythag. p. 133, 184. Plat. de leg. l. 10. p. 955, 956. *ἐπιτ.* p. 1008. B.

braced by most Sects of Philosophers, viz. by the Stoicks, Pythagoreans, Platonists, and Plutarch, who having laid down this for certain, that this long period must have Causes *ἐκείνη τὰ αὐτῆς ἑξ ἀνάγκης φέρονται* producing the same Effects necessarily in every thing; he illustrates it thus to his Friend Piso, Know therefore that by the same celestial Beings, as the Causes of all things, it is *καὶ τὸ ἐμὲ γράφειν νῦν τὰδε, καὶ ὡς σε τε γράτλει* and *καὶ ὅπως τοῖς ἄλλοις γράτλει*, that I now write these things, and that thou doest what thou doest, seeing that cannot be without some certain causality or influence of these Stars upon us, which shall necessitate all Men upon such a Revolution of them to do the same things which they had done before, whether they be good or evil: And therefore when Mercurius had taught this Doctrine to his Son Tatius, he forbids him to discourse of it among the vulgar Sort; for, saith he, if they know that all things happen according to this over-ruling Fate, they will be the worse, *τὰς δ' αἰτίας τῶ κακῷ ἐμψυχῶν ἀναφίγγουσιν, καὶ ἀφίξει ὡς πάντες ἐπὶ κακῷ*, and ascribing the causes of their Wickedness to Fate, they will never cease from it.

Hence therefore it is evident that the Providence asserted by the Stoicks, not only

Apud Stob. Ecl. Phys. p. 76.

robb'd us of the best effects of Providence, viz. Divine Assistance in Spirituals, or in promoting our Virtue, and by that our Felicity; but also rendred it ineffectual, by making the Author of it only *ᾤμα νοερόν*, an intelligent Body, and thereby rendring it impossible he should have Foresight sufficient to discern our Wants, or Power sufficient to supply them, or Will to do it, and by laying us under that fatal necessity of acting, which necessarily destroys all Virtue and Religion.

§. VI. The Platonists and Followers of Pythagoras were also stiff Assertors of a Providence, declaring that all things happen'd *καὶ δὲ αὖτε πρὸς νοῦν* according to divine Providence, especially to the good and pious, and that *ἡ θεοὶ εἰσὶν ἐμπροσθεν πάντων πραγμάτων*, *καὶ μεγάλων καὶ μικρῶν* the Gods take care of all things great and little; but then they also said many things, which either weakned, or wholly overthrew this Providence: And this they did,

1st, By asserting a Fate so depending upon the Revolution of the Stars, that upon the same Revolution of them all things would be done by all as they were done before; so that the Philosophers must then

² Iambl. de vitâ Pythag. p. 133, 184. Plat. de leg. l. 10. p. 955, 956. *ἐπιτ.* p. 1008. B.

use the same Boys, and the same Whores, as they did before; the same good and evil Habits, as ^a Plutarch observes, *must be renewed in all Men, that the same good and evil Actions may be desired, affected, chosen, and done by them*; for what will then be done again by reason of the same site and disposition of the Stars as was before, must at the first be done by virtue of such a disposition of the Stars. This, saith ^b Origen, *οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς Πυθαγόρας, καὶ Πλάτων* the Pythagoreans and the Platonists assert; and according to it, saith he, I know now how ^c τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν (ἐσθλόν) the liberty of the Will can be preserved, or how our Actions can deserve blame or praise. That this was the assertion of Pythagoras, that *καὶ περιόδους τινὰς τὰ γινώμμενα πάλιν πάλιν γίνεσθαι*, at certain periods all things should be done as they were before, so that nothing was simply New, we learn from ^d Iamblicus; and that ^e Plato was of the same opinion, we learn from the words cited by Plutarch from his *Timæus*, and from his own words. Moreover ^f Diogenes Laertius having told us that Pythagoras said, God took care of us immediately, adds,

^a Καὶ τὰ γε ἐξῆς καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς αἰτίαν, p. 569.

^b Adv. Celsum, l. 5. p. 245. Vide Not. ^c L. 4. p. 408.

^d De Vir. Pythag. p. 188. De fato, p. 565.

^e Vid. Procl. in Timæo, p. 9. & 39. Spencer in Orig. p. 208, 245.

^f L. 8. p. 509. Vide Suidam in Voce.

That

That he held also ἀντιστοιχίαν τὴν τῶν ὁρίων ἔχει, καὶ
 τὴν αἰτίαν ἀποδείκνυσθαι, that Fate was the
 cause of the administration of all things, both
 in general, and in particular: And^s Plu-
 tarch saith, that, according to Plato, Fate
 was ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπαράλλακτον ὡς τὴν αἰτίαν
 ἀνεκτρέψαι, a divine Decree immutable by
 reason of a Cause that could not be hindered;
 and this makes them both guilty of all the
 Absurdities which follow from the Stoicks
 Fate.

2dly, Both they, and, if we may credit
 the Apostate Julian, all Mankind confined
 the immediate Providence of God to the
 Celestial Beings, or made him, with^h Nu-
 menius, ἀεὶ ἄνθρωπον ὑποκρίναι, void of all Em-
 ployments; and left Men, and all inferiour
 Creatures, to the care of Genii, or De-
 mons, i. e. of Æthereal Beings, or Created
 Gods, whom they placed under the Concave
 of the Moon; or of Heroes, i. e. of separated

^a Ex Phædro de Fato, p. 568.

^b Apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 11. c. 13. p. 537. C.

^c Πλάτωνος ὅτι καὶ τὸ θεῖον, καὶ ἀειμονίαν, καὶ ἡρώων ὡς
 δαίμονων ἔστι. Porphyrt. de Pythag. vita, p. 197. Vid. Hieron.
 à p. 40. ad 47. p. 132, 242. & Marcellii notas in aurea Carm.
 Pythag. p. 347, 348. & de Pythag. Diog. Laert. l. 8. p. 514.
 ubi vide Not. & Menag. Varro inter Lunæ gyrum & nimbo-
 rum ac ventorum cacumina aerias esse animas ait, Aug. de
 Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 6. Aer Junoni deputetur, ubi volunt cum
 Demonibus Heroas habitare, quo nomine appellant alicujus
 meriti animas defunctorum, l. 10. c. 13.

Souls.

Souls; for so with * Plutarch, Varro, and others, I distinguish them, tho' I know Pythagoras, Plato, and Hierocles, place Heroes in an order superiour to Demons, or Spirits never united to Bodies. This Plato reckons as an evidence of divine Philanthropy, that he hath placed these new Gods, as he calls them, over us, Cantoning out to every one of them his share of the Regions or Cities over which they are to preside; to these he ascribes the Production of all humane Bodies, and the Government of their Souls; and in this, Plutarch, Celsus, and Julian^m agree with him, for this reason, That they conceived it unworthy of the great God to mix himself with humane Affairs, and that he was rather to be exempted from such Actions.

* Εἶναι δὲ Ἡρώας τὰς καχαισιμύας ψυχὰς τῶν σωμάτων. Plut. de placit. Philos. l. 1. c. 8. Φάσι δὲ καὶ τινὰς δαίμονας ἀνθρώπων συμπαθεῖαν ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ πόλεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρᾶγματων, καὶ Ἡρώας τὰς ὑποληυμένας τῶν ποταμῶν ψυχὰς. Diog. Laert. de Stoic. l. 7. p. 46. ubi vide Menag.

¹ Καὶ ὁ θεὸς δὴ φιλάνθρωπος ὢν τὸ πρῶτον ἀμεινον ἡμῶν ἐφίστη τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων, de leg. l. 4. p. 830. C. Ἡμετέροις φάσι γενέμεσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἐθναρχαίς καὶ πολιτάρχαις θεοῖς ὧν ἕκαστος ἐπιλεγομένης ἑαυτῶν λήξῃ οὐ κείως αὐτῶν.

^m Jul. apud Cyril. l. 4. p. 115. Eadem vide apud Plat. Critias, p. 1100. C. D. 1003. B. Cels. apud Origen. l. 5. p. 247. Τοῖς νέοις παρέδωκε θεοῖς σώματα πλατύνειν θυμῷ. Tim. p. 1054, 1055, 1073. Τὸν θεὸν καλαμιστὴν ἀνθρώπων χρεῖαις ὑφείδειν τῇ σεμνότητι αὐτοῦ, ὃ δὲ τηρεῖ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρετῇ. Plut. de Orac. def. p. 414.

§. VII. Now the manifold Inconveniences and Mischiefs of this Providence are both evident and very great. For,

1st, By this denial of God's immediate Power and Wisdom engaged either to create our Bodies, or to govern and direct our Souls, or to preserve us from all Evil; by telling us, that *nullus Deus miscetur homine*, none of the Cælestial Gods had any Converse with Man; that 'twas "not fitting to interest them in what was done upon Earth, but only Dæmons and Aerial Gods; they robb'd us of our choicest Motives to adore and imitate, and place our confidence in him, who thought us thus unworthy of his care; for as ° *Cyril of Alexandria* well argues, How can we judge he should chuse to govern those whom he touchsafed not to create; or to be delighted in their services, for whose very Being he was concerned so little?

2dly, They gave Men too much ground to doubt of, and discard all Providence, when they found their Wise-men thus de-

* Τὸ δὲ μὲν ἐφεστῶαι χρησμεύουσιν μὴ θεοὺς οἷς ἀπαλλάχθαι
 πάλιν προσήκον ὅτι, ἀλλὰ Δαίμονας ὑποκρίτας θεῶν,
 δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς ἀξιῶσθαι, Plutarch. ib. p. 418.

* Πῶς δ' ἂν ἐλοῖτο κρατεῖν ὧν ἀτιμάζει ἢ χύσειν, ἢ
 ἵνα δε τρέπον ἢ πάλιν λαμβάνουσιν ὁπλάνην, εἰ μήδε
 ἵκων ἡμᾶς ὅπως ἡξίωσι ἢ ἀρχῶν, Contra Julian. l. 2.
 60. v. 68, 117.

claring, that the Cœlestial Gods had no concern for things on Earth, but to commit them to new made created Gods, and to the Souls of dead Men, of whom they could have no assurance that they had any knowledge of humane Affairs, or any freedom to attend upon them, or any power to help them; for even by the confession of ^p Plato, for this they were obliged, *πιστεύειν μακροῖς λόγοις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φημὶν, καὶ τοῖς νομοθετοῦσι ταῦθ' ἕως ἔχειν, to give credit to long Tales and Fame, and to humane Constitutions*; that is, to things in many other instances plainly ridiculous and foolish.

3dly, Those Dæmons to whom the care of Men entirely was committed, are by the Scriptures declared to be *evil Spirits*, or in the language of the Holy Spirit they were *Devils*, as will be afterwards made apparent from those ridiculous, barbarous, and obscene Rites they instituted, or approved of in their several Districts, Cities, and Regions where they were supposed to preside: And yet ^a Plutarch saw by the light of Reason, that a *vile imputation* was cast upon the Gods, by saying they had committed the care of Man to evil and malignant Spirits.

^p Apud. Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 12. c. 3.

^a Τὸ ὅτι φαύλους δαίμονας ἐκπενοίας ἐπὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιστάσεις καθίσταται πῶς ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶ θεοῦ, De Sto Repugn. p. 1051. D.

fits, this being, saith he, as great a blemish to them as for a Prince to set an evil Ruler over his People.

4thly, They by this Doctrine laid the foundation of all that gross Idolatry the Heathen World committed in worshipping these Dæmons, and the departed Souls of Men; for having once imagined that by the appointment of the great God, the charge of framing all our Bodies, of governing our Affairs, and inspecting all our Actions, belonged to them; that all Commerce betwixt him and us was managed by their Mediation, that they conveigh'd all our Addresses to him, and brought down from him all the Blessings we derived from Heaven, and all the Injunctions which he laid upon us, they declared them upon these accounts worthy to be worshipped with our Prayers, Praises, and Sacrifices, and said, in this we only did what would be very acceptable to the supreme Deity;

Ἰ Πάν το δαιμόνιον ἡμῶν μελαζύ ἐστι τὸ θεῶν τὸ καὶ θυγατέρα
μυώων, καὶ διαπορθμύδιον θεοῖς τὰ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀνθρώ-
ποις τὰ θεῶν, ἢ μὲν τὰς δειήσεις καὶ δυσίας, ἢ δὲ τὰς
ἐπιλάσεις καὶ ἀμοιβὰς τῶν θυσιῶν. Plat. Sympos. p. 1194. A.
Plutarc. de Orac. def. p. 417. A. Max. Tyr. disc. 27. p. 268,
69. Ἐυχαῖς τιμᾶν μάλα χρέων χάειν τὸ ἐνυρήμει διαπο-
ρᾶς, Plato Epin. p. 1010. F. 1011. A. Diog. L. l. 8. p. 514,
15. Apul. de Deo Socrat. p. 35. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 5.
3. p. 182. D. Clem. Alex. Strom. 6. p. 631. Φησὶ δὲ καὶ
θεοπαύοντα θεὸς πλεονας, τὸ ἐν τῷ τῷ μετὰ τὸν θεο-
παύοντα, καὶ ἐν τέττῃ κακίῳ ποιῆν, Cels. apud Orig.
8. p. 381. Vide p. 376, 377. Hieroc. in Pythag. p. 10.

and of all this ' *Apuleius* speaks fully in his Book *De Deo Socratis*.

Lastly, The worst and greatest Mischief which followed from this Hypothesis is this, that it hallowed, and laid on all Men a necessity to approve of the Worship, sacred Rites, religious Ceremonies and Solemnities of all Nations, as being instituted by these Dæmons, saith *Apuleius*, *Celestium voluntate, numine, & auctoritate*, according to the will and by the authority of the celestial Gods: And, saith *Celsus*, all these things are dispensed by Demons and Heroes, καὶ γνώμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ πάντα πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, according to the Counsel and Law of the most high God; and both ' *Plato*, and from him ' *Apuleius*, own the

* 1°. Nullus Deus miscetur hominibus, nullus Deus humanis rebus intervenit. 2°. Sunt quædam divinæ mediæ testates per quas desideria nostra & merita ad Deos committunt, δαίμονες Gr. Vectores hinc precum, inde donorum, &c. 3°. Quæ cuncta cælestium voluntate & auctoritate, sed Deorum obsequio & operâ & ministerio fieri arbitrandum est. p. 44, 45. 4°. Sunt ex hoc divorum numero qui nocturnis vel diurnis, lætioribus vel tristioribus hostiis vel ceremoniis ritibus gaudeant, p. 49.

* Διὰ τούτου (τοῦ θεοῦ) καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ πᾶσα χωρεῖ, καὶ ἡ ἱερὴ τέχνη, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς δυσίας καὶ τὰς τηλείας καὶ ἐπωδάς, καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ πᾶς γονεῖαν, θεὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπων μίσυ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτου πᾶσα ὅτιν ἡ ὁμομία θεοῖς ἀνθρώποις, Sympos. p. 1194. A.

* Unde etiam Religionum diversis observationibus, & errorum variis suppliciis (i. rationibus) fides impertienda &c. quæ omnia pro cuiusque more loci solennia & rata *Apul.* p. 49.

from these Heroes and Demons they derived all their Instructions concerning Sacrifices, Expiations, Incantations, and all other religious Rites and Mysteries, all Divination, and all the Answers of their Oracles: And hence * Pythagoras, * Plato, and * Celsus, determine, that all Men should follow the Rites of their Country, tho' they were worse than others, and that by so doing they would do what was right, and was not to be violated: Whence * Origen demonstratively infers, that they must be obliged in many places by the authority of the supreme God, to offer humane Sacrifices, and burn their Children in the Fire to them, and to commit Incest, Sodomy, Adultery, and Fornication, and to be drunk in honour of the Gods; and that the very same things must be holy, religious, and highly acceptable to the Gods, when done in some Cities and Countries where the Law approved of them, and they by custome had

* Τὸ μέγαν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ νομίμοις ἐδοκίμασαν ἀνδρες ἐκείνοι, καὶ ἡ μικρὰ χεῖρα ἐτέρων, Iamb. in vita Pythag. 156.

* Eadem habet Plato de leg. l. 4. p. 832, 833. l. 5. 846. l. 6. p. 871. l. 7. p. 886. l. 10. p. 961. Ὡς δ' ὅν τινα εἰδέναι τῇ θυσίᾳ φύσις τοῦτων περὶ. Epin. 1011. C.

* Καὶ δὴ τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις ὁρθῶς ἀνὰ πλείστον ταύτην ἡμεῖς ὅτι ἐκείνοις φίλον, ὡς γὰρ ὅτι ἐχ' ὅσιον ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τόπος νομοθεσία, Cels. apud Orig. l. 5. 247.

* Ibid. p. 248, 249.

obtained; and again, impious, profane, and execrable to the same Deity in all those places where they were disapproved of, or forbidden; and so must be things in themselves indifferent, and only good or evil as they were commanded or forbidden.

And thus we see that the Providence asserted by the Followers of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*, was not only overthrown by their Doctrine of Fate, and of that disposition of the Stars which made our Actions necessary, and by excluding God's immediate intendment over us, or concern for us, and giving us up to the charge of Demons and Heroes, who were either evil Spirits, and so unfit to govern, and unwilling to promote our Welfare, or such departed Spirits of whom they could have no assurance that they had any knowledge of humane Affairs, or any freedom to attend upon them, or any power to help them, but also laid the foundation of all that gross Idolatry which obtained through the Heathen World, and also forced all Men to approve of all the religious Rites and Ceremonies of all Nations, how barbarous, obscene and ridiculous soever they might be, as being instituted by those *Demons* according to the will and by the authority of the celestial Deities.

This therefore was the result of all their *Philosophical* Disquisitions, either profes

sedly

sedly to deny all Providence in reference to humane Affairs, as did the Followers of *Epicurus* and *Aristotle*, the *Academicks* and the *Pyrrhonians*, who by their Principles stood bound to own and teach there was no reason to believe it; and argued || from the Afflictions of good Men, and the Prosperity of the wicked, that there was no Providence; or consequentially to destroy that Providence they seemed to assert, and therefore to destroy all the foundations of Piety and Virtue, as did the *Pythagoreans*, *Platonists*, and *Stoicks*.

|| Περὶ τῆς κατὰ δαίμονα ὅτι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἑρμηνείων ἀναβιβάζωμεν τὸ πρὸς μὴ ἀσφαλὲς διασφαλεῖν πολλὰ καὶ τοῦ κακῆς εὐπρεπῆς, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀσφαλείας τὸ μὴ ἀσφαλὲς, *Scilicet Empyr. Hypot. l. 1. c. 13. p. 8.*

C H A P. V.

The C O N T E N T S.

They who most owned a Providence were unable to answer the Objections made against it, 1st, from the Prosperity of the wicked, and the Calamities which happen'd to good Men, §. 1. Their usual answers to it shew'd to be unsatisfactory, Ib. 2dly, From the great Wickedness which every where abounded in the World, §. 2. This they ascribed either to an Anti-God, or to the Stubborness of Matter; both which Opinions are confuted, §. 2, 3. The immortality of the Soul, on which Religion doth so much depend, was absolutely denied by many of them, §. 4. They generally rejected the Punishments of another World, and had but very slender hopes of any Good to be enjoy'd hereafter, §. 5. That these Doctrines were destructive to Piety, and great encouragements to Vice; and the advantage of the Christian Principles above them. Ibid.

§. 1. Lastly, **T**hey who most owned Providence, were still unable to give any satisfactory Answer to the great Objection against it, arising from

the Consideration of the great Prosperity of the Wicked, and the miserable Calamities which oft beset the best of Men. This *Plutarch* speaks of in the most surprizing manner: *The Stoicks*, saith he, affirm, *μεγιστα θεων διοικηται τα κατ' ημας*, that the things belonging to us are governed by the divine Providence, who yet are so miserably afflicted, that if the Gods would turn the Tables, and set themselves to hurt and afflict, to overturn and crush us one against the other, *εχ' αν δυνασθε διαβαιναι. χερον, η νυν εχουσι*, they could not order Matters worse than now they are; he goes on impudently to say, that *Jupiter* should rather *αιτιας ε δεχας υπιστως μη παροχειν*, not have given us a Being, than having bred us up *επολυπραγισεν* to torment us, and seek to ruine and destroy us; yea, saith he, I will add what is much worse, seeing no Wars are without wickedness, that God whose Providence *ευστατει* inwardly produceth them, by stirring up Men to them, must be the Author of Wickedness; and in his Book against the *Stoicks*, he renews the like complaint, if possible, in Words more tragical: And *Cotta*, in *Cicero*, saith, That as an House, or Common-wealth, cannot be well managed without Punishments for

* De Stoic. Repugn. p. 1048. E.

b P. 1049.

Criminals,

Criminals, and Rewards for good Men,

Sic mundi divina in homines moderatio nulla est, si in ea discrimen nullum est bonorum & malorum; so neither can there be any divine Government of the World, if there be no difference between good and bad Men. He confesseth there, that he had unwillingly insisted so long on this Argument, *videtur enim auctoritatem asserere peccandi,* because it seemed to give encouragement to Sin, as, saith he, it would surely do, *nisi & virtutis, & vitiorum sine ulla divina ratione grave ipsius conscientia pondus esset,* unless Virtue were its own Reward by the Comforts, and Vice its own Punishment by the Torments, it produceth in the Conscience.

And *Simplicius* can find no better Answer to this Objection, than this, That Men should only judge those things good or evil which it is in their own power to preserve, or to avoid, and then they never would be subject to evil, or want any thing that was truly good; both which, secluding Providence inspecting all our Actions in order to a future Recompence, are plainly insufficient Answers: For,

1st, Whereas 'tis said by *Cicero*, and others, that Virtue is its own Reward, be-

cause it fills the Soul with inward Pleasures, and with the Satisfaction of an upright Conscience, and so it needs no future Recompence; and that Vice is its own Tormentor, because it overwhelms the Soul with Terrors and Affrightments, and so it needs no other Punishment. 'Tis very certain,

1st, That all the tormenting Thoughts which Wickedness produceth in us, depend upon a Providence inspecting all our evil Actions in order to their Punishment, and to the execution of his Wrath. Hence the *Epicureans* so often tell us, that their wise Master, by the denial of this Providence, had at once delivered the Deity from Trouble, and Them from Fear; and when the wicked Man turneth away from his wickedness, and doth that which is right, this Reformation gives relief against them, as it gives ground to hope, that this Repentance will avert that Wrath.

2^{dly}, 'Tis also evident that all the pleasures of a virtuous and pious Life derive from expectations of God's favour here, and of those Rewards he hath prepared for them hereafter, and vanish when once Sin hath robb'd us of these hopes. And *Dionysius Halicarnassens* well observes,

that if the Soul, when it is separated from the Body perisheth, *ἐκ οὗτα ὅπως μακαρίζεσθαι ποταίω τὰς μὴ ἐν ἀπολαύσαις τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀγαθὸν οὐ αὐτῷ ὅ τῷτῳ ἀπολεμύεις*, *it was not easie to discern how good Men can be happy, who in this World receive no fruit of their Virtue, but often perish by it.*

Vain also is the Answer of *Simplicius*, that he wants no Good, or suffers no Evil, who wants nothing it was in his power to preserve, or suffers nothing which he could avoid; when notwithstanding this he may be miserably tormented, and almost ready to expire with excess of Pain, and languish for the want of Food, unless you can assure him of some substantial and more lasting Good, which shall assuredly succeed these Miseries, and will abundantly compensate all these Wants and Sufferings; since after this romantick Talk, that *Nothing can be evil which is not dishonest*, and that *he wants nothing, who wants not Integrity*; Pain will be Pain, and Want be Want, and both be equally tormenting still, whilst the Soul feels what the Body suffers.

§. II. But that which stagger'd them the most, and made them flee to absurd Refuges, was the consideration of that prodigious Wickedness which every where abounded

abounded in the World. This *Plutarch* exaggerates very tragically, complaining that the Wicked were more numerous than the Sands of the Sea, or the Dust upon the Earth, and that there was ἀρετῆς μῆδ' ἐνύπνιον, *not so much as any one who dreams of Virtue, but we all wander, doing things infamous, as if we were possessed with an evil Genius*: He will by no means admit of the opinion of the *Stoicks*, that Sin hath no efficient Cause τὸ κακὸν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, *that it should happen* καὶ τὸ θεῶν πρόνοίαν πᾶσι ἐπνοίαν ἀτοκίαν ὑπεράλλει *according to the Providence of God, exceeds, saith* ^e *he, the greatest of Absurdities*; on which account he will not suffer this Providence to be the cause of any Wars, *because they are carried on by Sin*; nor yet allow them to arise from any evil Genius presiding over us by his order: He therefore in pursuance of his own opinion, that Evil could not come into the World without an evil Cause producing it, saith thus, δεῖ γένεσθαι καὶ ἀρχὴν ὡς καὶ ἀγαθῆς καὶ κακῆς τὸ φύσιν ἔχειν, *there must be a natural Principle of Evil as well as Good*; this, saith ^h *he, seem'd so* τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις *to the most and wisest*; for they thought

^e Adv. Stoic. p. 1067. C. D. E. de Procrear. animæ, p. 1015. B.

^f De Stoic. repugn. p. 1049. D.

^h De Isid. & Osir. p. 369. C. D.

there

there were two Gods emulous of one another, *ἡ δὲ ἀγαθή, ἡ δὲ φαυλὴν δημιουργόν*; the one the author of Good, whom therefore they called God; the other the author of Evil, whom they called Dæmon: This, saith^h he, is a Tradition of great Antiquity, derived from the Divines and Lawgivers to the Poets and Philosophers, whose first Author cannot be found. This, saithⁱ Diogenes Laertius, and Agathias, was the Doctrine of the Persians and their Magi, viz. That there were two Principles, viz. ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, one good, whom they called Jupiter and Oromasdes; καὶ κακὸς Δαίμων, and an evil Genius, whom they stiled Pluto and Arimanius. Now,

1st, This Assertion of an Anti-God, as powerful in the production of Evil as the other God is of good, destroys the Notion of a Deity; for, how can the good God be infinite in Power, or in Goodness, if there be an evil Being of equal Power to oppose him, and from whose Power he cannot rescue or deliver those whom this Anti-God subjects to Evil, unless he be of greater Power than this evil Dæmon? So that they who are of this opinion, as *Simplicius* observes, rob God of half of his Power,

^h Παμπάλαιος αὐτὴν κατεῖσιν ἐκ θεολόγων καὶ νομοθετῶν εἰς τὴν ποιητῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων δόξαν, ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτὴν ἀδύνατον ἔχειν, ἡ δὲ πῶς ἰσχυρὰ καὶ δυσέκλειπτον, &c. Ibid.

ⁱ Proem. p. 6. vid. menag. in locum.

and of the most noble effects of his Goodness, in preserving us from the worst of Evils.

2dly, It destroys the very notion of Moral Evil; for if there be any such contrary Principle which is the cause of all such Evil, then all this Evil falls out unavoidably and irresistably, it being not in the power of the good God, much less of Man, to hinder it, and then all Moral Evil must lose its Name and its Obliquity, since a Moral Evil implies, in the nature of it, a voluntary breach of some known Law; whereas that cannot be in us voluntary which is caused by an infinite Power in the proper way of Efficiency, and so by this means all Religion, Laws, and Providence, must be banish'd out of the World; for there can be no Government by Law, where all freedom of the Will is destroy'd; nor any Religion, or Providence where there are no Rewards or Punishments which both suppose a liberty of Action.

§. III. Others ascribed the cause of all the Evils which were in the World to Matter, which, as they conceived it to be eternal, and uncreated, as was God himself; so did they judge it incapable of such a change even from God himself, as should free us from the Evils which in this Life we are

are subject to. This Doctrine * Seneca lays down positively in his Discourse on this very Subject, *why evil things happen to good Men*, declaring that this happens, *quia non potest Artifex mutare materiam*, because God the Artificer could not change Matter: Hence he informs us, that ¹ *à magno Artifice multa formantur prava*, many things were made unhappily by this great Artificer, not that he wanted Art, but through the stubbornness of Matter. And both ^m He and ⁿ Epictetus agree in this, that the Gods gave us not some good things, not because they would not, but because they could not. ^o Chalcidius from Numenius ascribes this opinion to Pythagoras and Plato, viz. *Deum esse initium & causam bonorum, sylvam malorum*, that God was the cause of what was good, and Matter the cause of what was evil: And it is certain that ^p Plato partly doth ascribe them to our Progenitors, and partly to the σοιχεῖα Elements of which we are compounded: ^q He adds that ἐκ ἐπολέαδ' τὰ κακὰ δυνάτ' it was impossible to prevent Evils; nor yet to ascribe them to

* De Provid. c. 5. ¹ Præf. ad nat. qu. p. 683.

^m Quicquid nobis negatum est, dari non potuit, Sen. de benef. l. 2. c. 29.

ⁿ Ἐξ ὧ μ' δοκῶ ὅτι εἰ ἡδυνάτ' ο κακῆνα ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπίτρε-
ψαν, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐκ ἡδυνάτ' ο, Artian l. 1. c. 1.

^o In Tim. p. 394. ^p Tim. p. 1095. F.

^q In Thætet. p. 129. A.

God, seeing they follow ^{τὴν} ἀνάγκην φύσιν ἔχουσαν *our mortal Nature of necessity*; and *Celsus* saith, that Evil must not be ascribed to God, ὅλην ὃν προσηκείνεν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς, *but Matter is the cause of it*; and *Maximus Ty-
rins* saith, that the Evils which are in the World are *not* τέχνης ἔργα ἀλλ' ὕλης πάθος *the Works of Art, but the Affections of Matter*. So that the origin of Evil, by this account, lies wholly upon the perversity of Matter, which, it seems, was incapable of being put into better order by the power of that God who framed the World and our Bodies out of this præ-existent Matter. But against this Hypothesis 'tis argued,

1st, That it destroys God's Omnipotency, or at least makes him the approver of Evil; for, as *Tertullian* argues, Either God could have removed Evil from Matter, but would not do it, or else could not; the latter destroys his Omnipotence, the first reflects upon his Goodness: For if God would not remove it when he could have done it, he must be willing it should continue, and so consent to the continuance of it: Now to make his Will the cause why Sin was, without the intervention of Man's Will, reflects on his Goodness; and to say he could not remove it, seeing that im-

¹ Contr. Hermog. cap. 10.

plies no contradiction, must destroy his Omnipotence.

2dly, This Principle, as it respecteth Moral Evil, overthrows Religion, because it makes it so necessary to Matter framed into an humane Body, that God himself could not order it otherwise, and much less Man; and he who hath a Body of Sin framed with his natural Body, is no more culpable for the one than for the other, they being equally unavoidable, and indeed the same; and God's Corrections and Punishments for not avoiding Sin, must be on that account unrighteous.

But to confess the truth, I believe the opinion of *Pythagoras* and *Plato* was only this; That as for Natural Evils, Pain, Sickness, Hunger, Death, the Fears of them, and the Sorrows they cause in us, these have their rise from the Matter of which we are composed, and so the cause of them is indeed ὕλη τοῦ σώματος the passiveness of Matter; but that for Moral Evils, called μοχθηρία, they had another Principle within us, ἡ ψυχῆς ἐξουσία καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν τελειότητα, even the free motion of the Soul, which both conceives and brings them to perfection, as *Maximus Tyrinus* distinguisheth. But then consider that this doth not exempt

them from the strength of their own great Objection against Providence, that being taken from the Natural Evils which good Men suffered, and from the Moral Evils which they did : This we find very tragically represented as well by *Seneca* and *Pliny*, and *Maximus Tyr.* as by *Plutarch*, complaining of Nature as *tristior Noverca* a doleful Step-mother ; of humane Life, as so full of Miseries that none would have accepted of it, *nisi daretur insciis*, had it not been given to us when ignorant of it ; and representing this as the chief Felicity, not to be born, and the next, to die quickly ; and them as ignorant of their Miseries, *quibus non mors ut optimum inventum nature laudetur*, who praised not Death as the best invention of Nature, and that which was the only cause, *ut nasci non sit supplicium*, that it was not a Punishment to be born ; and enquiring, after a long enumeration of the Evils incident to humane Nature, *ἢ τί ἂν ἐν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεργάσῃ ὁ Ζεὺς ἢ ὁ Ἀπόλλων*, *what Apology will Jupiter or Apollo make for these things ?* Now from this long Discourse we learn how faint and feeble were their expectations of a future Happiness, when we find not one of the ancient *Philosophers*, who lived before

* Consol. ad M. c. 20, 22.

† Nat Hist. præf. l. 7.

* M. Tyr. ib. p. 245.

Christ's time, nor *Cicero*, nor *Seneca*, or *Plutarch*, recurring to the only satisfactory Answer to this great Objection, arising from the consideration of future Rewards, which would abundantly compensate for all the Evils which the good Man suffers for his Virtue in this World; and of the future Punishments which evil Men must suffer from the hand of Justice hereafter for their Wickedness; tho' it deserves to be considered, that the chief advantages of Virtue, and trouble of a vicious Life at present, do visibly depend on the belief and expectation of those future Recompences.

§. IV. To proceed therefore to the last Principle on which all Natural Religion must depend, viz. the Immortality of the Soul, or her existence in a state of Sensation, and therefore of Rewards or Punishments, without which they especially who knew nothing of a Resurrection, could neither have any sufficient Motives to lead a virtuous Life, nor any strong Inducements to depart from Evil, or to abstain from the most vicious Practices; for since they by experience found, and therefore made it, as we see, their great Objection against Providence, that good Men often suffered very great Afflictions, and bad Men did as often prosper and flourish in this World, they only could be induced to live virtuously

ously, or to break off their wicked course of Life, by this presumption, that their Souls might be happy or miserable after death, or after its separation from the Body; but even this could be no matter of their hopes or fears, unless it did remain in a state capable of Perception, and so of Happiness or Misery after the dissolution of the Body. Now 'tis observable,

1st, That as some of the *Philosophers* denied the Immortality, and even the Existence of the Soul after death; so all of them owned, that it was uncertain whether they survived the Body or not.

2^{dly}, That they had only faint surmises of a future state of Happiness, built upon frivolous and idle Tales, and that they frequently denied the Punishments and Torments of another World.

And *first*, Among the Sects of *Philosophers* who absolutely denied the Immortality and the Existence of the Soul in a state of Perception after death, were first the Followers of *Epicurus*, who said, * *ἡ ψυχὴ σῶμα ἐστὶ λεπτόμορφον*, *the Soul was only a Body consisting of small Parts*, and therefore after the dissolution of the Body, *αὐθιγὸν ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ*, *it had no sense*: All Good and Evil consists in the sense or perception of them,

* Diog. Laert. l. 10. p. 629, 630.

whereas ^γ *σημαίνει ὅτι αἰσθητικὸς ὁ θάνατος*, death is the privation of all Sense, and therefore, say they, is not to be feared, because when we are, death is not, *ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θάνατος ᾖ παρὲς τὸν ἡμῶν ἐκ τούτου*, and when death is, we are not. Hence he derives all the perturbations of the Soul from these two Fables, as he stiles them, *ὅτι τὰς δόξας ἐν ταῦτα μακάριον τε καὶ ἀφθαρτὸν*, the apprehension that they may be blessed and immortal, and ^ζ *ὅτι τὰς αἰώνιον τι δεῖν καὶ προσδοκᾶν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς μύθους*, and in expecting or suspecting some eternal Terrors: And that this Doctrine had mightily prevailed before Epicurus had taught his Philosophy, we learn from Socrates and Cebes, who discoursing of the Immortality of the Soul do both confess, that *ἡ ψυχὴ πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, 'twas mostly disbelieved by Men, who rather thought that the Soul, when separated from the Body, was nowhere, but perished, and was corrupted when the Man died, and vanished away as Smoke, or as the Breath going out of the Body: And that this Doctrine got strength and became more general among the learned Romans, and others, somewhat before our Saviour's time, is evident from the complaint of Cicero in his Discourse upon this very Sub-

^γ P. 655. ^ζ P. 637. * Plato Phædr. p. 53. ^δ Tusc.

qu. I. n. 62, 63.

ject, that not only the Sect of *Epicurus*, *sed nescio quomodo doctissimus quisque contemnit*, but all the most learned Men did contemn this Doctrine. ^c *Pliny* was certainly of this opinion, declaring that, *non magis à morte sensus ullus aut animæ aut corpori quam ante natalem*, the Soul and Body had no more sense after death, than before we were born: And ^d *Cæsar*, that death dissolved all our Evils, *ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum*, beyond it there being neither place for care or joy: Yea ^e *Cicero* complains that *populus cum illis facit* the common People mostly complied with this Doctrine of *Epicurus*: That *Aristotle* was of the same opinion, we learn from ^f *Origen*, who saith expressly, καὶ ἡτορηνέναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἄθανασίας τὴν ψυχῆς λόγῳ, that he condemned the opinion of the Immortality of the Soul; and from *Atticus* declaring that he held μήτε ὅλως ἐποδιαμύειν οὐάαδς τὰς ψυχὰς, that Souls could not remain after their separation. And tho' many have undertaken to defend him, yet is this so apparent in his Morals, as to admit of no dispute; for there he plainly doth assert, that 'tis absurd to say, that any Man should be happy ^g ἐπειδ' αὖν ἐποθαίνῃ when he is dead, because happiness

^c Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 55.

^d Apud Salust. de bello Catil. §. 5.

^e De fin. bon. l. 2. n. 37.

^f Adv. Cels. l. 2. p. 67.

^g De

Mor. l. 1. c. 11.

consists in action: He therefore took this for granted, that the dead were capable of no action: And then proceeding to discuss that celebrated Saying of Solon, *that no Man could be said to be happy till he died*, he adds, that this was ^h μακαρίζειν ἕκαστον ὡς ὄντα μακάριον ἀλλ' ὅτι πρὶν τελευτᾶν ὡς to pronounce Men blessed, *not that they were then so*, but because formerly, *i. e.* whilst living they were so, clearly disclaiming any Blessing that could belong to the dead: He owns indeed, that as some good or evil might happen to the living, ^{μὴ ἀθανομένων} *who had no sense of it*; so the dead might be said to be fortunate or unfortunate in respect to their Children and Relations which were so; but then he supposes that they were insensible of these things: And to the enquiry and doubt ⁱ περὶ τὰς κεκοιμημέ-
^{τας} *concerning those that were dead*, whether they were capable of any good or evil, he answers, from what he had discoursed, that if they were so, it was ^k μικρὸν *very little*, and such as could not ^{πείθειν} *convince* τοὺς μὴ ὄντας *make them happy who were not*; clearly again supposing that the dead ceased to be: And therefore adds, that death was of all things the most terrible, because it made an end of us, ^l καὶ ἔσθ' ἐτι τῷ τελευτᾷ

^h Ibid. p. 13. ⁱ Ibid. ^k Ibid. p. 15. ^l L. 3. c. 9

δὲ καὶ ὅτε ἀγαθὸν ὅτε κακὸν εἶ), and nothing good or evil seemed to happen to any Man after death.

The Stoicks, saith ^m Diogenes Laertius, held the Soul was Body, καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐμ-
 διαρρῆεν, φθαεῖν ὅ εἶ), and remained some-
 time after death, but was corruptible; whence
ⁿ Cicero saith of them, *diu mansuros aiunt*
animos, semper negant, they say that Souls
 remain long, but not always; and yet
 even this, saith ^o Lipsius, was inter Stoicos
ipso controversa res, nec consensu recepta, a
 thing controverted, and not generally re-
 ceived among them: Panætius, saith ^p Ci-
 cero, affirm'd, *interire animos*, that Souls
 perished: Epictetus, as ^q Lipsius observes,
 hath not one word concerning the dura-
 tion of the Soul; and Arrian is exprefs;
 that when we die, the Soul goes ὅθεν ἐξῆλθε
 whence it had its rise, to the Elements of
 which it was composed, that of which was Fire
 to Fire, Earth to Earth, Air to Air, and Wa-
 ter to Water; στοιχεῖα there not signifying the
 Stars, as Lipsius imagined, but these four
 Elements: ^r Antoninus saith, that ἐφ' ὑποθέσει
 τῶν τὰς ψυχὰς διαρρῆεν upon the supposition that
 Souls remain, yet as the Bodies, laid in the
 Earth, after a while are chang'd and dis-

^m L. 7. p. 465. ⁿ Tusc. qu. 1. n. 63. ^o Phys. Stoic. l. 3.
 cap. 11. ^p Tusc. qu. 1. n. 64. ^q L. 3. c. 13. p. 293.
^r L. 4. §. 21.

solv'd, ἔτι καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀεὶ μετὰ τὴν αἰῶνα οἱ ψυχῶν,
 so is it with the Souls translated into the Air,
 ἐν ᾧ πόσον συμμείνασθαι, after they have remain'd
 a while, they are chang'd and dissolv'd, and
 give place to other Souls to come there; but
 then as he always speaks doubtfully of this
 Hypothesis, so sometimes he seems plainly
 to deny it; for, saith 'he, Alexander and
 his Mule-driver, ἀποθάνοντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καθεύδουσιν,
 when they die, are reduced to the same state,
 they being either dissipated into Atoms, or re-
 solved εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς τῷ κόσμῳ ἀσπμαλινὰς λόγους
 into the same seminal causes of the World;
 and elsewhere, Death, saith 'he, is either
 a dissipation or a reduction of us into Atoms,
 ἢ κένωσις, or stripping us of our Being. Seneca
 when he is comforting a Woman, or flat-
 tering a Friend of Cæsar's, speaks very mag-
 nificently of the duration and happiness of
 the Soul after death, but when he is ready
 vitam agere to die himself, his comfort is
 only this, "that he shall cease to be, or be as
 void of sense as before he had a Being, and
 that he shall be extinguished as a Candle is,

L. 6. §. 24.

L. 7. §. 32.

"Mors est non esse id quod ante fuit—hoc erit post me quod
 ante me fuit, atqui nullam sensimus tunc vexationem—quis
 existimet lucernæ peius esse cum extincta est quam antequam
 accenderetur, nos quoque & accendimur & extinguimur, me-
 dio illo tempore aliquid patimur, utrimque vero alta securitas
 est, quicquid ante nos fuit mors est, quid enim refert utrum
 non incipias an desinas, utriusque rei hic est effectus, non esse,
 Epist. 54.

and

and then shall be no more. And tho' in his Consolatory Letters to *Helvidia* and *Polybius*, he writes in a better strain of words, yet in his Letter to "*Marcia* he speaks according to the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, saying, that *Death puts us in the same security in which we were before we were born*; that it makes us not to be capable of good and evil. In his 102d Epistle, he talks big of a divine Part in us which joins us to the Gods, and of a glorious Light, which, when we are delivered from the Body, and placed among the Stars, we shall see; and tells *Lucilius* that the Day which he fears as his last, *eterni natalis est*, is the Birth-day of Eternity; but then he had told him before, in the same Epistle, that this was only *bellum somnium* a pleasant Dream; and that he was willing to believe or hope it might be so, on the account of some great Men, *rem gratissimam promittentium magis quam probantium*, who promised what they did not prove, and falls into that abject thought, that *nihil sit ejus qui nullus est*, nothing can belong to him who is nothing: And since

* Mors omnium dolorum & solutio & finis est, ultra quam mala nostra non exeunt, quæ nos in illam tranquillitatem, in qua cum nasceremur jacuimus, reponit, mors nec bonum nec malum est, id enim potest vel bonum vel malum esse quod aliquid est, quod vero ipsum nihil est, & omnia in nihilum redigit, nulli nos fortunæ tradit, non potest esse miser qui nullus est, c. 19.

the

the *Stoicks* did in this agree with *Epicurus*, that the Soul was only Body, they could not reasonably deny what follows unavoidably from that supposition, that it must be dissolved and dissipated when the Body is so.

Both the *Stoicks*, *Platonists*, and others, speak of this as a very doubtful matter: * *Plato* introduceth *Socrates* at his death speaking thus, *I hope to go hence to good Men*, κ' ἔτιτο μὲν ἐκ ἅν πάντι διιχουρσαίμεν, but of this I am not very confident, nor is it fitting for a wise Man † νῦν ἔχοντι ἀνδρὶ to be confident that these things are true: I, saith he, ‡ shall now die, and you shall live, but which of us is in the better state, the living, or the dead, ἀδελφον παντὶ πάλω ἢ τῷ θανάτῳ, God only knows. *Cicero* begins his Discourse on this subject with this profession, that he intended to deliver nothing as fixed and certain, but only as *probabilia conjecturâ sequens*, conjecturing what was probable, and had some likelihood of truth; And having reckoned up the different Sentiments of the *Philosophers* about it, he concludes thus, ^b *Harum sententiarum quæ vera est Deus aliquis viderit, quæ verisimillima est, magna questio est*, Which of these opinions is true, some God must tell us; which is most like

* In *Phæd.* p. 48. C.

† P. 84. F.

‡ *Apol.* p. 31. F.

* *Tusc. qu.* l. 1. n. 15, 16.

^b *Ibid.* n. 63.

to truth, is a great question. And hence we find them all doubting with *Socrates*, whether the things he surmised touching a future State were ἀληθῆ εἰ ἢ μὴδ' ἐν ὅσι πρὸς τὴν ἀδίσταστον, true, or whether there be nothing to be enjoy'd or suffer'd after death; whether the last Day would extinguish them, or only make them change their place; whether they were then to be in a state of Sensation, or without Sense; speaking still of this matter by way of disjunction, or conditionally.

The *Pythagoreans* seem to have been the only stiff Assertors of the Doctrine of the Soul's Immortality; but then, as ^a *Cicero* informs us, *eorum disciplina extincta est cum aliquot secula in Italia & Sicilia viguisset*, their Discipline was extinct after it had continued for some Ages in *Italy* and *Sicily*; and *Diodorus Siculus*, that even in the time of *Plato* and *Aristotle* were τῶν πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ τελευταῖοι the last of the *Pythagorean Philosophers*; so by their Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, and πρὸς κυκλώσεσιν their circulation of them for some thou-

^a Si supremus ille dies non extinctionem sed commutationem affert loci, Cic. Tusc. qu. l. 10. n. 105. Si quis modo extinctis sensus inest. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 6. §. 3. ἐκβηθὶ εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἑτέρον βίον εἰ ἢ ἐν ἀναισθησίᾳ. Anton. l. 3. §. Vide l. 7. §. 50. l. 8. §. 25, 58. l. 10. §. 7. Fortasse si vero sapientum vera fama est, recipitque nos locus alius. Sen. Ep. 63. Si modo solux corporibus animæ maneat. Ep. 76. Mors aut finit aut transfert. de Provid. c. 6.

^d De Univer. n. 1.

land Years from one Body to another, they destroy'd all the comfortable Reflections which could arise from the consideration of its Immortality, especially if we consider that according to their Doctrine their Souls went not only into ^a Brutes, where they must be as incapable of Reason, and of Happiness, as they were; but also into ^f Plants, where they must be incapable of Sensation; and into ^g bad Men, where they must be as miserable as their Vice could make them.

§. V. And as the denial of the duration of the Soul in a state of Perception after death did fundamentally subvert all expectation of any future Happiness and Punishments in another World, so did they generally reject, and absolutely deny, the Punishments of another World; declaring that death will bring us *εἰς ἑὸν δένον* to nothing we can fear; for there is no Hell, no Acheron, no Coccythus, no Piriphelethon, no Fire to burn Men, no bitter Waters to make them lament, saith ^h Arrian. So ⁱ Seneca comforts Marcia, by saying, *cogita nullis de-*

^e *Ἐἰς ἄλλα ἢ ζώων.* Porphyr. de Vita Pyth. p. 188.

^f *Ἐἰς ὅσα φύσας καὶ ζῶα περιέρχεται.* D. Laert. 8. p. 491.

^g Fuisse eum faminam pulchra facie meretricem, cui nomen Alce, Clearchus & Dicæarchus memorizæ tradiderunt. Agel. l. 4. c. 11.

^h L. 3. c. 13. p. 253. ⁱ Cap. 19.

unctum malis affici, consider that the dead suffer no evil; those things which make the Infernal Shades terrible, are a Fable; we know that the dead are not in Dark-ness; there is no Prison, no Rivers of Fire, or of Oblivion, no Tribunals, no guilty persons, no Tyrants; the Poets have sported with these things, and filled us with vain Fears; *mors omnium dolorum & solutio* & *finis*, death is the end and dissolution of all Grievs: These are, saith Plutarch, *μῆτρων καὶ τειχῶν δόγματα*, the Tales of Mothers and of Nurses, which scarce any dread, and almost all do look upon as Lyes and Fables. Hence doth he represent this as one great folly of the superstitious Person, that he makes his Fears longer than his Life, and adds to death ^k *κακῶν ἐπιβολὰν* *ἁναίρων* the thoughts of never-dying Evils, calling this *τὸ παιδικὸν δέος* a childish Fear; and representing this as one great benefit of Philosophy, That it had taught them to look upon that death which others fear, ^l *ὡς μὴδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς*, as nothing to us; for the Books of the Philosophers, saith ^m Cicero, fully confute all these portentous Figments of the Poets and Painters, nor is there any Man whom *excors quem ista moveant* so void of Sense as to be moved by them, nor any old

188.
191.
cui no-
siderunt

in *Ann*

^k De Superstit. p. 165. ^l De aud. Poet. p. 37. ^m Tusc. qu. l. 1. n. 9. l. 2. de Nat. Deor. n. 4.

Woman

Woman so delirious, quæ illa quæ quondam timebantur apud inferos tormenta extimescat, as to fear those infernal Torments which were once the object of their Fears. Hence he apologizeth for one that killed another, saying, " Quid tandem illi mali mors attulit? What Evil hath he suffer'd by it, unless being moved by Fooleries and Fables, we can think he suffer'd Punishment in the infernal Regions? Hence also were these generally their Consolations for the Dead, that he was aut beatus aut nullus, either happy, or was not; so ° Seneca: That if their Souls remained, they were happy; if they did not, they could not be miserable; so P Cicero.

As for the expectation of any good things to be enjoy'd in a future State or any blessed Eternity, their hope of it was very little, and chiefly founded upon idle Tales, and therefore is by *Plutarch* stiled, *the fabulous hope of Immortality*; by *Cicero*, *futurorum quoddam augurium sæculorum*, a kind of Divination that there may be such a thing; by *Seneca* it is said to be *that which our wise Men promise, but they do not prove*; which saying will appear evidently true to any who reads *Plato* or *Cicero* upon that

° Orat. 14. pro A. Cluent. n. 136. ° Ad Polyp. c. 27.
P Tusc. qu. l. 1. n. 22.

subject. ¹ Plato relates a Story out of Homer, that Men who lived here holily and justly, should be translated into the Islands of the Blessed, to live there in great Happiness, and freedom from all Evil; but then he begins it thus, you will call this *μῦθον* a Fable. 2dly, He hath it only from ² Homer, whom elsewhere he will not suffer his young Man to read, because he had told such foolish and pernicious Lyes of the Gods; and whose Soul ³ Pythagoras said he saw when he was in Hell hanging upon a Tree, and surrounded with Serpents, *ἀνθ' ὧν εἶπε ὡς δέων*, for what he had said about the Gods. And, 3dly, ⁴ He adds that the Judges both of good and bad Men were only two Men of Asia, Minos and Rhadamanthus, and one of Europe, to wit, Æacus, who, as it was impossible they should know the Words, Thoughts and secret Actions of all Men; so was it more impossible they should pass Judgment on them according to these things, and therefore are deservedly laugh'd at by Cicero; and Seneca confidently denies it; he therefore truly concludes all with this remarkable Expression, That Callicles might reasonably say, that this was only, *μῦθος*, an old Wives Tale, and fit to be de-

¹ Gorg. p. 356. ² Ὅτι περὶ τοῦ Ὁμήρου λέγει. Ibid.

³ Diog. Laert. l. 8. p. 505. ⁴ P. 357. A. ⁵ Tusc. qu. l. n. 8.

spised, ^w εἴη ζήτουντες εἰς ἄχρον αὐτῶν βελτίον καὶ ἀλλο-
 θές ἐρευνᾶν, if they by search could find out
 any thing better, or more true; and could
 Tales so confessedly frivolous, and despic-
 able, and in themselves impossible, have
 any influence upon considering Persons
 to engage them to live piously and ho-
 nestly?

Next * he tells us a more ridiculous Sto-
 ry of one *Eris Armenius*, dead in Battel,
 who went to *Hades*, where he was ad-
 mitted to the sight of the Rewards which
 good Men there enjoy'd, and the Punish-
 ments the wicked suffer'd, and then was
 sent back to the Earth to declare this to
 others: Now this Story runs thus, ^y that
 all Men who came thither, had ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσθιοις
 σημεία πάντων ὧν ἐπεράξαν the signs of all that
 they had done writ upon their Backs, and
 that some wicked Men were tied Hands and
 Feet and Head together, and so thrown down
 and beaten, and torn with Thorns. And
 this, and such like Stories, gave occasion to
 that reflection of ^z Cicero, that Error had
 prevailed so far, that tho' they had burn'd
 their Bodies, they feigned they suffered those
 things apud inferos in the infernal Regions
 which without Bodies could neither be done
 nor understood; and then he goes on to

^w P. 359. ^x De Rep. l. 10. p. 761. D. ^y P. 762. C.
^z Tulse. qu. l. 1. n. 30.

say, that the Souls of unjust Men were put into wild Beasts, but the Souls of good Men εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα into tame Beasts, perhaps that they might graze the better in their green Meadows and *Elysian* Fields, as if the highest Happiness Man could expect in compensation for all his Sufferings for the sake of Piety and Virtue, were to be turned into a Brute.

§. VI. Now that the denial of the duration of the Soul in a state of Perception after death, and of all future Punishments, did plainly tend to overthrow the fundamental Principles of Virtue and Religion, and give Men great inducements to commit all Iniquity without Remorse, or fear of Punishment, was so exceeding evident, that they themselves did see, and were even forced to confess it. For,

1st, They could not but discern that the Doctrine of a state of endless Happiness hereafter, was a great encouragement to lead a pious and virtuous Life; that, as *Plutarch* saith, it was marvellous to see how they who had these hopes of Immortality in them φεγνίζουσι τῇ ἀρετῇ were addicted to Virtue. 2^{dly}, How αἱ τ' μετὰ θανάτου ἐλπίδες the hopes of good things after

death, attended with inexplicable Pleasures, comforted them under all Calamities, and made even the Thoughts of them to vanish; there being, saith he, such Consolations *τῇ ἐλπίδι ἀφθαρσίας* in the hope of incorruption and the opinion of Immortality, as, I dare say, must be sufficient to make both Men and Women endure to be torn by Cerberus, or put into the Tub of Danaus: If then, saith ^b he, it seems so sweet to the Epicureans to be delivered from the fear of eternal Evils, *πῶς ἐν ἀνίαρῳ αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδα σερρεῖας, καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ τὰς ἐνδοξαμονίας ἀπεβαλεῖν*, must it not be very troublesome to be deprived of the hope of everlasting good things, and to reject the highest Felicity. They also saw that this was that *quo dempto quis tam esset amens qui semper in laboribus & periculis viveret*, which being once removed, no Man could be so mad as to live here in Labours and Perils; and that no Man can die for his Country, *sine magna spe immortalitatis*, without a great hope of Immortality; so Cicero. Hence he enquires why any good Man should impose these hard Laws upon himself, as to endure any Torment rather than neglect his Duty, or betray his Trust, *cum quamobrem ita oporteret nihil haberet comprehensi percepti*

^b Non posse suaviter vivi. p. 1105, 1106.
l. n. 27.

^d Acad. qu. l. 2. n. 25.

^c Tusc. qu.

when he had nothing certain to move him so to do; and adds, that 'tis impossible for any to have that esteem for Faith and Equity, as to endure the most dreadful Punishments to preserve them, nisi iis rebus assensus sit quæ falsa esse non possunt, unless he be assured that the things he hath assented to cannot be false: And ^c Dionysius Halicarnassæus well observes, that if the Soul doth perish with the Body, it is not easie to discern πῶς μακαρίους ἀπολαύσω τὰς μηδὲν ἀπολαύσαντας τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀτάθουν δι' αὐτῶν ὃ ταύτῳ ἀπολαυμύς, how they can be deemed happy who receive no fruit of their Virtue here, but perish by it.

2dly, They also saw that the Doctrine of future and eternal Punishments tended strongly to deter Men from a vicious Life: For tho', saith ^c Cicero, the Troubles it createth to the Soul may do it, fieri tamen magna accessio potest si aliquid æternum, & infinitum malum impendere nobis opinemur, it will be a great accession to it to conceive some infinite and eternal Evil will be the issue of it. And that the denial of these future Punishments did yield a great encouragement to Men to go on in their evil ways, was as apparent; for if death, saith ^e Socrates, be the extinction of the whole, or a freedom from all Evils, ἐξμαίον ἂν αὖ τοῖς κακοῖς ἀποθανέσι,

^c Hist. l. 8. p. 529.

^f De fin. bonor. l. 1. n. 44.

^e Aquid

Plat. Phad. p. 80. A.

this will be good news to the wicked when they die, that they have nothing to suffer: And therefore tho' these things, before Christianity appeared, were represented by Philosophers as Fables, yet when it had brought them to light, they found admission from the very Heathens; and even^b Celsus saith, You Christians believe eternal Punishments, and so do also they who initiate us into our Mysteries; they also hope their Souls will be eternal; and this I say, that they rightly think, who say, that they who live well will be happy, and they who are wicked will be subject to eternal Evils, and from this Doctrine let neither they nor any one else recede.

And is not this a great advantage to the Christian Revelation, that when it was first imparted to the World, they found it necessary to be embraced, and to pretend, tho' against all the Sentiments of their Predecessors, that they also taught the same, and that it was a truth from which no Man should recede?

^b "Ὁπρὸς σὺ κολάσεις αἰώνιες νομίζεις ἔγω καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων θύηται τε καὶ μυσαρώσοι, Apud Orig. l. 8. p. 408. Τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν νῦν ἐλπίζουσιν ἔχειν αἰώνιον, καὶ τὰτο μὴ ἔσθ' ὡς νομίζουσιν, ὡς οἱ μὲν εὖ βιώσαντες εὐδαίμονήσουσι, οἱ δ' ἄδικοι πάντων αἰώνιους κακοὺς σιμῶσιν, καὶ τότε τὸ δόγμα ὅτι μὴ ἔστι μὴ ἄλλ' ἀνθρώπων μηδεὶς ποτε λυγρῆ, p. 409.

Tho' therefore both *Plato* and *Tully* are pleas'd to represent Philosophy as the greatest Blessing God ever gave to the World, and tho' it had usurped the name of Wisdom, yet hath the Spirit of God declar'd this Wisdom to have been *μωρία τῷ θεῷ* *folly in the sight of God*; the issue of it, as appears from what hath been discours'd in this long Chapter, being this, that it either overthrow all the Foundations of natural Religion, or render'd 'em uncertain and precarious: For,

157, Since Hope and Fear are the two radical and leading Passions of the Soul; since the expectations of Reward or future Good, and dread of future Evils, are the two sovereign inducements to the renouncing of our Lusts, or the embracing of a virtuous Life; to question Providence, and say 'tis unconcern'd in the Affairs of Men; to represent God as a Being who hath neither favour nor displeasure on the account of any of our Actions, no affection to, or concern for us, whatsoever we may do, to set up Fate and evil Dæmons, Stars and Matter, to controul and over-rule him, or to make the expressions of his Goodness necessary, and therefore such as lay no obligations on us to returns of love and duty, as this *Philosophy* hath done, is in effect to overthrow Religion and the worship of a Deity,

Deity, because these apprehensions cut off all Motives to them.

2dly, Since God is an all-powerful Being, and therefore able to dispense Rewards and Punishments according to our Works, whatever can induce me to believe he will not do it, must also force me to conclude that he is wholly unconcerned in these things, that he doth not love that Virtue which he will not crown, defend and cherish, nor hate that Vice which he will not restrain and punish; it being the most natural result of hatred to shew a great displeasure, and where our Power is equal to our Will, to leave some tokens of our dislike of and opposition to it, by our endeavours to suppress and crush it; as on the other hand it is the genuine effect of love to wish, and to endeavour, where our Power meets with nothing to controul it, the preservation and welfare of the Object loved; and therefore it is folly to conceive that Gratitude should lead me to the persuance of that Virtue which will not be grateful, or the forbearance of that Vice which cannot possibly displease that Being to whom I am desirous to express my Gratitude.

3dly, Since 'tis evident that all things here do come alike to all, and *there is one event to the just and unjust*; since 'tis not only the experience but the complaint and scandal

scandal of the World, that *wicked Persons flourish in it like a green Bay-tree*, that *they are fat and well-liking*, and often have a late and quiet passage to the Grave; in a word, since here we find no dispensations of Rewards or Punishments, according to the good or bad demeanors of Mankind, it follows that these Doctrines which deny the future Being of the Soul, and make its Bliss or Misery conclude with its existence in the Body, must render Piety and Virtue not only useless, but oft destructive to the Interest both of the Soul and Body, and upon that account repugnant to the Reason of Mankind.

4thly, Since the Will is guided by the convictions of the Judgment, where that is still uncertain and unstable, its influence upon the Will, when 'tis tempted to oppose its trembling decisions by the strongest Passions, by direful Fears, and charming Pleasures, must be inconsiderable, as was before observed.

And, *lastly*, since what is not in my power cannot be my duty to avoid, and what follows from the Laws of Fate and those extrinsick Causes whose Operations are immutable, is also unavoidable, it follows that those Doctrines which make our sinful Actions to proceed from such a Cause, must make it cease to be my duty to avoid them.

C H A P. VI.

The C O N T E N T S.

The Unity of the Godhead is prov'd by many Arguments, §. 1. Tho' most of the Philosophers owned one supreme God, yet had they also their celestial, aerial, terrestrial, and infernal Gods, who by their Doctrine were all to be worshipped according to the Rites of every Country, §. 2. The Platonists and Stoicks held the World was a God, §. 3. The Sun, Moon, and all the Stars, were generally owned to be Gods, §. 4. And the Earth, Ibid. Most of their Gods were Men deify'd by themselves, §. 5. They worshipped evil Spirits as well as them whom they supposed to be Gods, §. 6. The excellence and advantage of the Christian Faith, in reducing us from all this false Worship, to the Worship of the one true God alone, §. 7.

I Proceed now, in the last place, to the consideration of those great miscarriages in the religious Worship of the Heathen World, which rendred them unworthy of the favour of God, and even incapable, upon their own avowed Principles, of the Communications of his especial Grace and Goodness, and also obnoxious to his high

Displeasure, and the severest of his Judgments.

§. I. The Crimes for which the Scripture condemns the religious Worship of the Heathen World, are,

1st, That they did not know the true and only God, or did not *worship him as God*, and so they robb'd him of his Worship.

2^{dly}, That ⁱ they worshipp'd them *which by Nature were no Gods*, that they worshipp'd *the Creature instead of the Creator*; that *they sacrificed to Devils*, or to evil Spirits; that *the living sought for help to the dead*; that they worshipped *the Sun, Moon and Stars, and all the Host of Heaven*, and even *dumb Idols*.

3^{dly}, That the Worship they paid to these false Gods was * ἀθέμιτος εἰδωλολατρεία *abominable Idolatry*, as being attended with divers abominations, *viz.* with Drunkenness, all manner of Uncleanneſs, with Homicide, and unnatural Cruelties to their own Children.

Now the true notion of a Deity, delivered very frequently in *holy Scripture*, is this, that he is that Being *who made the Heaven and the Earth, the Sea, and all that*

ⁱ Gal. 4. 8. Rom. 1. 25. 1 Cor. 10. 20. — 12. 1. 1 Thes. 1. 10. ^k 1 Pet. 4. 3.

in them is, and who doth providentially govern and order all things in them according to the Counsel of his Will ; which notion of a Deity doth evidently destroy all the whole rabble of those Creature Gods the Heathens worshipp'd.

What great stress the *Scripture* puts upon the knowledge of the Unity of the God-head, we learn from these Expressions of the Old and the New Testament, *I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have no other God but me ; He that sacrificeth to any other God, shall be cut off ; This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God ;* and the reason is, because the true God being only One, the Worship of him must depend on the acknowledgment of his Unity, according to these Words, *Hear, O Israel ! the Lord thy God is one Lord ; and thou shalt worship the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Spirit, and with all thy Might.* For,

1st, If this Maker and Governour of the World be not essentially and necessarily One, there may be many who did concur to the Creation, and do concur at present to the Government of it ; they may be 30000, as some conceived, or may be numberless, as ¹ *Cicero*,

¹ Nominum non magnus numerus, ne in Pontificiis quidem nostris, Deorum autem innumerabilis. *De Nat. Deor.* l. 1. n. 58.

^m *Maximus Tyrinus*, and others thought ; for when once we acknowledge more than One, how many they may be no natural Reason can determine, and so we cannot know whom we are to love, fear and obey, on whom we are to trust and depend, and to whom we are to render our praises for any of the Mercies we receive, or who it is we do offend by our Transgressions, or to whom we must repair for pardon of them, to whom we must address for any Mercies that we want, or for deliverance from any Evils that we labour under ; we know not which of them we are to imitate, or whether by obeying one we do what's grateful to the rest.

Moreover, it either may be known by the Light of Nature that there is One God alone, or that there be, or may be more ; if the first, then is the owning of that God alone a Precept of the Law of Nature ; if Reason saith, either there are or may be more, then *Polytheism* must be prescribed by the Law of Nature, since that must teach me, that it is Wisdom to worship that which may challenge and deserve Worship from me, as that which is my God most certainly may do.

^m Οὐ γὰρ τετυμύετοί μόνον θεοὶ δεῦ πάσιδες, καὶ φίλοι, ἀλλ' ἀλλήλοις δειθμῶ, Dissert. i. p. 15. Varro 300. Tertul. Apol. c. 14. Theoph. ad Autol. l. 3. p.

Again, if there may be more than one, there can no Man be certain whether he worships all the Deities he ought to worship, because he cannot know by the Light of Nature how many they may be, and then no Person can be satisfied that he hath done his duty, and so can have no inward peace, because he cannot know that he hath worshipped all these Deities which are concerned in his Protection, or that he hath injured or offended none of them by his neglect to worship them; for, as *Tertullian* truly saith, the neglect to worship any of them, may be an offence, seeing, *præfatio unius sine contumelia alterius esse non potest*, the preference of one is a contumely to the other: And hence we find in ⁿ *Heathen Stories* so many Gods complaining of this neglect of worship, and punishing that neglect with severe Judgments.

Besides, if more concurr'd to the making, or concur to the providential Government of the World, they were, and are, either total or partial Causes only of that Creation, and in this Government: To be all total Causes of one and the same Effect, is a thing impossible; for where the Effect is one only, the total efficient Cause can be

^a Vide *Diodor. Sicul. l. 20. p. 756. Nat. Com. l. 5. c. 20. p. 521.*

but one ; so if my Soul were wholly created and infused into me by one God, nothing of it could be created by another : If then they be all total Causes, they must all act by the same Power, Wisdom, and Will, and consequently the same Nature, seeing these Attributes spring from the very essence of the Being to which they do belong, and especially in Divine Beings, are identically the same with it : If they were only partial Causes, they can only deserve our worship and service according to that part they bore in the Creation, and do still bear in the Government of the World ; which being impossible for Man to know by the Light of Nature, he must be left uncertain what service he should pay to any of them, and on what account ; for either he must know that the worship, obedience, and other parts of worship which he pays to any one of them, will be accepted as if paid to all, which never can be known by the Light of Nature, unless it doth assure us that the Will, Power and Wisdom of the one, is the Will, Power and Wisdom of them all ; whence we may rationally conclude they are all one in Nature : Or, he must be persuaded that they all require the same internal and external Worship, i. e. to be every one loved, feared, and obeyed above all others, and so they must require what is impossible to be performed ;
or

or else must judge they only do require a partial Affection and Obedience, according to that part they have sustained in the Creation, and do still bear in the Government of the World; and then we cannot be obliged, or able to pay them any service, because we cannot know either what share they had in the Creation, or have at present in the Government of things below.

In fine, whatever is a God must be eternal, and the first of Beings, or else must have begun to be, and so must have some cause of its Being, and so can be no God; it must be either *Ens a se*, a Being from it self; or *Ens ab alio*, derived from another, and so again can be no God: He must be either a necessary and independent Being, or else may cease to be, because he doth depend in Being on another, and so again can be no God. Now if you assert more Beings of this nature, they must be either all infinite in Wisdom and Power, and so must all, excepting one, have Power and Wisdom unnecessary and superfluous to the Production and Government of the World, seeing one God of infinite Power and Wisdom must be sufficient for those ends; whereas if there be no superfluous and unnecessary Faculties in any Creature, and if superfluous Parts be deemed monstrous, or an imperfection in them, they must be
much

much more so in the most perfect Beings ;
or else their Power and Wisdom must be
finite, and then they neither could create,
nor can they govern the whole World,
since both apparently require a Power and
Wisdom which is infinite. In a word, in-
finite Power and Wisdom can only be in
an Essence that is infinite, *i. e.* hath all
Perfections possible, and then it is impossi-
ble that any other Being should have an
Essence equal to it, since that must make
two Infinities, which is a contradiction ;
or if they do agree and are united in Es-
sence or Perfections, they are not two, be-
cause there can be nothing in which they
differ ; or if they differ in Essence, Power
or Wisdom, that must be wanting in one
of them by which they differ, and so that
Being cannot be infinite in Perfection : So
clearly doth the denial of the Unity of God
destroy his Nature and his Worship.

§. II. Now tho' most of the *Heathen*
Philosophers profess'd that there was one
supreme Being, or first Cause, yea one God,
who was *Deorum omnium Deus*, the God
and Father of all the other Gods they wor-
shipped ; yet did they do this so imperfectly,
and with the addition of so many Creature
Gods, who were all to be worshipped with
the Worship due to God alone, and accord-
ing to the Rites of every Country, and the
N direction

direction of their *Heathen Priests* and *Oracles*, that they became, by these assertions, both Patrons and Establishers of all that Idolatry which had obtained in the *Gentile World*: Hence God plainly saith of them, that *the ° World, with all its Wisdom, knew not God*, that they were *ἀθεοι* *Atheists* as to the true God in the World, and that their *Philosophers* professing themselves wise, became fools, vain in their imaginations of him, and their foolish heart was darkned, and that therefore God saw it necessary to reveal the Gospel for the Salvation of them that believed. And,

1st, They had their *Celestial Gods*, and these were either the Heaven, and all the Host of Heaven, the Sun, Moon and Stars to whom they ascribed the Attributes of God, and all the Benefits derived from him and so the Worship due to him alone: Or 2^{dly}, The Gods whom the *Poets*, and their Predecessors, had placed in Heaven, and which they reckoned Twelve, whom *Ennius* put into this Distich;

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercurius, Jove, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

• 1 Cor. 1. 21. Eph. 2. 12. Rom. 1. 21, 22.

2dly, Their *Aerial Gods*, (not excluding that insensate Element) and they were either *Dæmons* or *Genii*, stiled by the Romans *Dii medioximi*, i. e. spiritual Beings made by the chief God, but never united to humane Bodies; or, 2dly, The Souls of Men departed, and by them deify'd.

3dly, *Terrestrial Gods*, (the Earth it self being accounted the most ancient God) such were their *Lares*, their *tutelar Gods*, and innumerable others, relating to their Gardens, Corn, Sheep, and every other thing belonging to them. And,

4thly, Their *Infernal Gods*, such as were *Pluto*, *Neptune*, and the like. And,

5thly, They divided the *θεῶν* or Divinity εἰς τὸ βλάπτον καὶ τὸ ὠφελεῖν, into hurtful and plaguy Gods, as *Fiends* and *Furies*; or into beneficial Gods, as *Jupiter*; into good Gods, as *Oromasdes*; and evil Ones, as *Aremenius*; and into Male and Female: six of their Celestial Gods being Female: and *de omni ista ignobili deorum turba, quam longo aeo longa superstitio congeffit*, of all this rabble of ignoble Deities, as ^p *Seneca* well stiles them, I come now to speak.

§. III. And, first, The World was by the *Platonists* and *Stoicks* deem'd a God,

^p Sen. apud Aug. l. 6. c. 10.

but with this difference, saith ^a Origen, that the Platonists held it was a secondary God, the Stoicks that it was the chief God, because with the System of the World they joined the v̄s or Mind that made it, as the Soul of that great Body; so ^b Diogenes Laertius, ^c Plutarch, ^d Seneca, and others. The Platonists, who meant this of the material World, said of the supreme Being, that ^e τὸν ἐποικὶ θεὸν γένετον, καὶ εὐφάιμονα θεόν, he made it a begotten and a blessed God; and Cotta, in ^f Cicero therefore concludes it to be God, because *mundo nihil excellentius, nihil melius*, nothing is better, or more excellent. Now this, saith Velleius in ^g Cicero, was the opinion *non differentium, sed somniantium Philosophorum*, not of discoursing, but dreaming Philosophers, and that which subjects the Members, or the Body of God to all the Pains and Sufferings, those Readings and Burnings, and that Mortality to which the Parts of the World are subject

^a Ὅλον τὸν κόσμον λέγουσιν εἶναι θεόν, Στωικοὶ μὲν ὅτι πᾶν τὸν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ὅτι δυνάμεν. Adv. Cels. l. p. 235.

^b Τὸ καθαρώτερον τῶν αἰθερῶν ἐν ταῦτα τὸ πρῶτον λέγουσι, l. 7. seq. 137, 146.

^c Θεὸν καὶ κόσμον καὶ ἀστέρας καὶ τὸ γλῶσσε λέγουσι, ὅτι ἀνωτάτων πάντων γεννᾷ αἰθερί, de plac. Philos. l. 1. c. 7.

^d Totum hoc quo continemur & unum est, & Deus est. Ep. 94.

^e Plat. Tim. p. 1049. E. F. 1090. A.

^f De Nat. Deorum, l. 2. n. 33, 34. l. 1. n. 14.

^g Dei membra partim ardentia, &c. n. 19.

and seeing the worship of the whole, as *Lactantius* argues, must be the worship of all its parts; this opinion makes the Beasts of the Field, the Birds of the Air, and the Fishes of the Sea, the Subjects of religious Worship. Lastly, Either the World is governed by a Providence, or not; to say it is not, is to subvert all Religion; to say it is governed by a Providence, is to own that it cannot govern or provide for it self, but hath a Ruler and Governour; who is not in it as the Soul is in the Body, but as the Pilot in the Ship, or the Prince in a Commonwealth.

§. IV. 2dly, The Sun, Moon and Stars, and all the Host of Heaven, were both the first and the most ancient of the Heathen Gods, and as such were generally own'd both by the *Greeks* and the *Barbarians*, by the *Vulgar*, and all the Sects of the *Philosophers*, excepting only that of *Epicurus*, who never could digest the notion of a round God always rowling through the Heavens in a rapid motion, or without sense, as they supposed all the Stars to be: And as these round Gods, and these *ἑοὶ πυρρὸι* fiery Gods,

* Jumenta, pecudes & cetera genera bestiarum & avium & piscium, quoniam & mundi partes sunt, l. 2. c. 5. p. 167. & 7. c. 3. p. 654, 655.

as ² Plato styles them, were deservedly laugh'd at by *Velleius* the Follower of *Epicurus* in *Cicero*; so doth he from the shining Light of Nature enquire, *si intelligi potest nihil sentiens Deus*, how any one can conceive of a God without sense; yet it is certain that these were the first and the chief Gods, which every where obtained in the World: Hence ^b *Sancuniathon* saith of the most ancient *Barbarians*, and especially of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, that *Θυρις ὁ ἥλιος καὶ Σελήνη καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλανήτας ἀστέρας καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα θεοὺς μόνους ἐγίνωσκον*, they owned only the Sun Moon, Planets and Constellations, as natural Gods: And ^c Plato declares it his opinion, that *οἱ παλαιότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ ὅτι τὰ ἐνθάδε τέρας μόνους ἡγνόησαν θεοὺς*, the first Grecians held these only to be Gods, as many of the *Barbarians* in his time did, viz. the Sun, Moon, Earth, Stars and Heaven: And ^d *Plutarch* reckons the *Epicureans*, who denied the Sun and Moon to be Rational Beings, among those who destroy'd Providence, because they benefit them

² Diog. Laert. l. 3. p. 21.

^a Quæ vero vita tribuatur isti Rotundo Deo, nempe ut celeritate contorqueatur, in qua non mens sana & vita beata possit consistere, De Nat. Deor. l. 18. n. 27.

^b Apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 1. c. 9. p. 32, 33. V. l. 3. c. 4. & Cyril. Alexand. contr. Jul. l. 6. p. 205.

^c In Cratyl. p. 273. F.

^d Adv. Colot. p. 1123. A.

of sense οἷς πάντες ἄνθρωποι θύουσι, καὶ προσά-
 χουσι καὶ (έβω), whom all Men worshipp'd,
 prayed and sacrificed to: And Plato, speak-
 ing of the opinion of Anaxagoras, that the
 Sun was ἐμύδρας δάπτου, as Diogenes Laer-
 tius speaks, or λίθος δάπτου, i. e. a Burn-
 ing Iron, or Stone, and that the Moon was
 habitable Earth, represents it as very dange-
 rously reflecting on the Deity of the Sun
 and Moon, which, saith he, have προσ-
 σκυήσεις ἐλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πάντων, the
 Adorations of all Grecians and Barbarians
 both in Prosperity and Adversity: Thus Plato;
 forgetting that in the same place the Earth
 we tread on, burn and tear up, is by him
 made a God; and to render these things
 the more plausible, he ascribes two things
 to the Heaven and the Stars which are the
 Properties of God alone, saying, that we
 must pay a more excellent Worship to the
 Heaven, than to the other Gods, because
 τῶν ἄλλων αἰτίου ἀγαθῶν πάντων ἡμῖν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι
 πάντες ἀνὸς ὁμολογοῖμεν, we all confess it is the
 cause of all the good things we enjoy. And,
 2dly, That these visible Gods are chiefly
 to be honoured as the first and greatest
 Gods, καὶ ὁξύτατον ὁρῶντας πάντη, who most

* L. 2. p. 80. Vide Men. ibid. De. leg. l. 10. p. 945. B. F.
 954. Xenophon. Mem. l. 4. p. 644.

Epin. p. 1006. A.

P. 1911. F. p. 1012. C.

clearly discern all things every where; whence he pronounceth them *κακίστους* the worst of Men, who do not thus worship them: ^b *Aristotle* adds, that it was a Doctrine delivered by the most ancient of their Ancestors, ὅτι θεοὶ τὲ εἰσιν ἑτοί, that these are Gods, and this, saith he, is divinely said, θεὸς ἢ τὰς πρῶτας οὐσίας, that these prime Essences are Gods; so that this was agreeable to the Doctrine of the *Peripateticks*. The Doctrine of *Pythagoras* and his Followers, saith ⁱ *D. Laertius*, was also this, Ἡλίον καὶ Σελήνην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀστέρας ἢ θεὸς, that the Sun, Moon and Stars were Gods; and this also was the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*; for of *Cotta* the *Stoick*, ^{*} *Cicero* saith, *singulas stellas numeras Deos*, thou makest all the Stars Gods; and he himself says, *in Deorum numero astra esse ducenda*, that they were to be numbred among the Gods, they being worshipped by all Men. Now tho' all these Sects of *Philosophers* had apprehensions of these heavenly Bodies, that they were rational, and, as *Plato* saith, quick-sighted and discerning Beings, yet this opinion being irrational and absurd, and proper to Philosophic Heads, could never free them from that Idolatry which

^b *Metaph. l. 14. c. 8. p. 1003. D.*

ⁱ *L. 8. p. 509.*

^{*} *De Nat. Deor. l. 3. n. 27. l. 2. n. 30. l. 3. n. 36.*

they committed in paying their religious Worship to Creatures, made, according to their own confession, by the great Creator of the World, since they did indeed worship things without Life, and even that very Earth they trod on, things which are limited and determined in all their motions, and have no freedom in any of their actions, which are God's Creatures made for our benefit and use, and so cannot be worshipped with religious Worship, without giving that Worship to the Creature which is due only to their great Creator; things, lastly, which for multitude are numberless, and so cannot be deified, but we must introduce an innumerable multitude of Gods or Beings to whom we are to offer up our Prayers and Sacrifices, and all the other parts of our religious Worship.

And which is yet more senseless, the Earth they trod on was by them not only the first of their Gods, and as such made the object of their Prayers, but also the most ancient of their heavenly Gods, and that because, saith Servius, she was *mater Deorum*, the Mother of the Gods. Thus

¹ Prima & tellus, Virg. *Æn.* 4. 166. primamque Deorum tellurem — precatur. *Æn.* 7. V. 155, 156. γῆν δ' ἀρχαὴν αἰθέρα. D. Lact. l. 3. p. 211. Antiquissimam Deorum qui intra Coelum gignerentur esse voluit. Cic. de nativ. d. 46.

did they blend both Heaven and Earth together, and made all the celestial Gods to be the product of vile Earth.

S. V. 3dly, The Heathens very anciently and generally worshipped those Men who had been beneficial to the World, or who had valiantly fought for their Country, with religious Worship; and when they left this World, gave them an *Apotheosis*, and placed them among their Gods. Thus Cicero informs us that in Greece, *multos habent ex hominibus Deos*, they had many Gods who before were Men, and that they had filled the Heavens with them; and that *majorum Gentium Dii*, the Gods of most Nations were such whose Sepulchres they could shew on Earth, and that the Romans believed *Romulum aliosque complures*, *Romulus* and many other new Gods to be received up into Heaven; that it was the common custome, *ut beneficiis excellentes viros in Cælum fama & voluntate tollerent*, to advance them by fame and by consent to Heaven, who had been beneficial to Men upon Earth; and that in many Cities, to augment Virtue, and encourage Men to undergo Dangers for the Commonwealth,

^m Tusc. qu. 1. n. 24, 25. De Natura Deor. 1. 3. n. 27. *ibid.* 1. 2. n. 43, 46. Plutarch. de pl. Philos. 1. 1. c. 6.

they adorned the Memory of valiant Men, *Deorum immortalium honore*, with the honour of the immortal Gods; and because all Men worshipped them as Gods, he thinks it reasonable to confute them who said, *they were Gods rather in opinion, than reality*. It was alone on this political account this Doctrine obtained both among the Greeks and Romans, that *they who died in their Wars, were to be worshipped as Demons*. The Egyptian Priests, as ^p Plutarch informs us, owned that they had mortal Gods, whose Bodies they preserved and worshipped at their Sepulchres, *τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν ἑρῶνι λάμπειν ἄστροις*, but their Souls shined in Heaven, and were converted into Stars: This Cotta, in ^q Cicero, shews of all their twelve celestial Gods, and then enquires of Balbus, *num censes subtiliori oratione opus esse ad hæc refellenda?* Does it require any subtle Reason to refute these things? And whereas some Philosophers said these were Gods, *non re sed opinione*, not in reality but

^p Ibid. l. 3. n. 35. Ibid. n. 37.

^q *Τῶν δὲ ἀποθανόντων ἐν στελλαῖς — ὡς Δαιμόνων ἔγωγε θεωροῦμαι*, Plato de Rep. l. 5. p. 662. D. E. *Τὶς γὰρ ἐκ οἷδε — ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ ψυχὰς σιδηρῶν καὶ σιδηρῶν ἀπολυθείσας τὸ καθαρώτατον στοιχεῖον αἰθέρος ξενοδοχῶν ἄστροις ἐκκαθεσθῆναι, δαίμονες δὲ ἀσθῆναι καὶ Ἡρώες ἐν κλυτὰς ἰδίῳις αἰθέροισι ἐμφανίζοντες*. Titus apud Joseph. de B. Jud. l. 7. c. 4.

^r De Isid. & Osir. p. 359. ^s De Nat. D. l. 3. à n. 37.

in opinion, which only placed them in the Heavens, and were indeed, *rerum naturæ*, Names only given to natural things, as Fire, Air, the Sea, the Earth; this, saith he, doth not mend the matter, they being Deities, ' *quos augustè omnes sanctèque veneramur*, whom we majestically and sacredly do worship, and so they must worship those who in reality were no Gods, and pay their adorations to insensate Creatures, according to this opinion: In a word, this is confess'd touching the *Apotheosis* of their *Kings*, and *Heroes*, and *Emperors*, which made the greatest number of their celestial and aerial Gods. Now they themselves saw the absurdity of worshipping these humane Deities; and hence *Velleius* in *Cicero* inquires, ' *Quid absurdius quam homines jam morte deletos reponere in Deos?* What is more absurd than to turn dead Men into God? Nothing sure can be more so, according to the Doctrine of *Epicurus* and the *Stoicks*, who maintained the mortality of the Soul; whence even *Cotta* says, that ' *they who said the Valiant, the Excellent, the Men of Power, did after death be-*

² N. 45. n. 37. ³ De Nat. Deor. l. 1. n. 29.

⁴ Quid qui aut fortes, aut claros, aut potentes Viros tradunt post mortem ad Deos pervenisse, eosque esse ipsos quos nos colere, precari, venerarique soleamus, nonne expertes sunt Religionum omnium, *ibid.* n. 82, 83.

come Gods, and were the very Gods they worshipped, were void of all Religion: And ^uPlutarch, speaking of the forenamed opinion of the Egyptians, saith, that the introduction of such mortal Gods doth ἀκίνητα κινεῖν subvert what ought not to be moved, and fight against Antiquity, and the generality of Men and Nations, ὡς τὸ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας ὁσιότητι ἔσθ' ἐν ἀπολίποις, who desist not from their Piety towards these Gods, and tended to bring them down from Heaven to Earth, and to disturb and overthrow the honour καὶ τὴν πίστιν ὅλην δαίμων ἀπασιν ἐκ πρώτης ἡμετέρας ἐνδεδεμένην, and the persuasion which almost all Men had of them from their very births, and to open a great Gate to Atheism, and to the Doctrine of Euhemerus the Messenian, who held that all those they called Gods were formerly the Names of ancient Emperors, and Kings, and Patrons of Ships; by which Doctrine, saith he, ἀθεότητα διεσκέδαννυσε τὸ οἰκομνησιόν, he dispersed Atheism through the Earth; it being discernible, by the Light of Nature, to be a great absurdity to desert the living God to have recourse unto dead Men, and to make them usurp the honour of the Deity, who were created to pay their Veneration to him.

^u De Isid. & Osir. p. 359. F. 360. A.

§. VI. 4thly, They worshipped evil Spirits, as well as them whom they supposed to be good: I have already shewn in the Discourse of Providence, how generally the notion of a good and evil God obtained in the World, and also in the foregoing Sections, that they divided their Gods into profitable and hurtful Gods, to whom they offered Sacrifices that they might not hurt them; they did not only give the Names of Deities, *perniciosi rebus*, to things pernicious, *sed etiam sacra*, but also offered to them their Sacrifices, *ἄφοσιμῶσι ὡς χαλεπῆς ὀνίας καὶ βιαιῆς*, *averting their Wrath at being cruel and violent*: This also, saith * *Plutarch*, was the Doctrine of the *Chaldeans*, who held the Planets to be Gods; for they held, *δύο μὲν ἀγαθῆς, δύο δὲ κακοποιῆς*, *two of them be beneficial, and two of them to be hurtful*, and the rest indifferent. The *Latins*, saith † *Agellius* had their *Joves* and their *Vejoves*; the first had his Name à *juvando* from helping Men, the other from their power to hurt, whom therefore they appeased by Sacrifices that they might not hurt; to the one they offered, *εὐχλαῖα καὶ χαριστήρια*, *their Praises and Thanksgivings for good things*; to the other, *ἀποτρέπῳ καὶ σκυ-*

* Plut. de pl. Philos. l. i. c. 6. † De Isid. & Osir. p. 370.
C. † L. 5. c. 12.

θεῶνα, their Sacrifices for the averting of evil and sad things; the one they therefore called *dextra* prosperous, the other *leva* *numina* unlucky Deities. ² Porphyry says this was the common persuasion touching all Dæmons, that they would hurt and be angry if neglected, and would do good if mitigated by Prayers and Sacrifices, and that many not only of the Vulgar, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφῶν φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ὁλίγοι, but also of those who were versed in Philosophy, were of the same mind, and yet he gives it as a certain Character of evil Spirits, who, saith he, live by the steams of Sacrifices and Libations, to be pleased with them; and yet elsewhere he saith, we are to offer to the celestial Gods, τὰ ἀκρὰ τῶν ἱερῶν λευκῶν, the tops or lighter parts of white Sacrifices, because they were the givers of good things; but to the terrestrial and infernal Deities, according to the Oracle of Apollo, black Beasts and Birds, as being τὰ κακῶν καλωτήρες, the Averters of evil things; and ^b Eusebius well infers, that all their Gods must be evil Spirits, because they were every where worshipped by the Sacrifices of living Creatures,

² Ὡς ἄρα βλαπτοῦν καὶ χολωθεῖν ὅπῃ τὸ παρρησιᾶ καὶ μὴ τυχεῖν τῆ νενομισμένης δεξαπείας, καὶ πάλιν εὐοφθεῖν αὐτῶν εὐχαῖς καὶ λιβανείαις καὶ θυσίαις ἱερῶν ζώων καὶ ὀρνέων. De Abst. l. 2. §. 37, 40, 42.

^a Apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 4. c. 9. p. 147.

^b Ibid. c. 10. p. 148.

and

and much more because they were delighted with humane Sacrifices, and most of all because their Gods being adjured by the *Christians*, were forced to confess they were but Devils, and so confirmed the Sentence the *Scripture* had pronounced against them.

§. VII. Now hence we learn the excellency and advantages of those Revelations God hath imparted to the World.

157, In that they fixed the object of our Worship, reducing Men from those innumerable Beings which distracted them in their religious Worship, to the one true God, who made and governs all things, and to whom only it was therefore due; whereas before they were not only divided and distracted by the multiplicity of the Gods they worshipped, but still uncertain when they had paid the homage requir'd, and in continual dread of Punishments for the neglect of that which possibly might expect their homage; and hence in times of danger they erected Altars to unknown Gods, and often were by the *Priests* and *Oracles* informed that *they suffer'd for neglect to worship such a God*, yea even *Priapus*; and that some of them were incensed, and

* Lampfaceni ob Priapi expulsionem. Natalis Comes, l. 4. c. 20. p. 521.

ent down Judgments on them for their neglect of ^d *humane Sacrifices*.

2dly, In that those Revelations so entirely reduced them from the worship of so many insensate Creatures, which must be vain and fruitless Worship, and contrary to the clearest Light of Reason, there being nothing more absurd and contrary to common sense, than a God without Sense, as they themselves acknowledged. Now of this all the *Heathens* were notoriously guilty, in worshipping by Supplications and sacrifices, the Sun, Moon and Stars, and all the Host of Heaven; which as they were their first, and to many their only gods, so were they worshipped by *Greeks*, and by *Barbarians*, saith *Plato*; by all *Mankind*, saith *Plutarch*; for tho' the *Philosophers* (excepting the *Epicureans*) held that these Creatures were endued with Reason and Intelligence, yet seeing this was an absurd and fond Imagination that *οὐδὲν θεῶν* or Beings which were only Fire, should have either Reason, or freedom in their actions, it could not possibly exempt them from the guilt of vain, fruitless, and idolatrous Worship.

Carthaginenses ob humanas hostias Saturno ut prius non molaras. Diod. Sicul. l. 23. p. 756. aut 739.

O

3dly, In

3dly, In that it did convert them from the worship of dead Men, to the worship of the living God; this was a general practice, defended by Cicero on this sole account, that after death they became Deities, *quos auguste omnes sancteque venerantur*, whom all Men worship with religious Veneration; and yet they by the Light of Nature saw that nothing could be more absurd, *quam homines jam morte deletos reverere in Deos*, than to make Gods of dead Men, and that this was indeed to overthrow the honour due to the Gods, and to disperse *Atheism* through the World, as *Plato* hath observed; there being nothing more absurd than not to go to the living God, but to dead Men, for help, i. e. to them who neither can be rationally supposed to have any knowledge of what is done on Earth, or any power to assist us, or to make them usurp the honour of the Deities when dead, who, when living, were themselves obliged to worship him. But,

4thly, Especially in that it turned the World from Satan, or from the worship of evil Spirits, to God. For, (1.) Where the *Heathens* lay under the terror of those evil and pernicious Beings which were inclined to hurt them, and it seems knew God who had both Power and Will to preserve them, the Revelation both of *Jew* and *Christian* gives security to all the

fear God from all the malice of Satan and his cursed Crew. And, (2.) Whereas the Jewish Revelation only declared that the Gods of the Heathens were Devils, Ghosts, and evil Spirits; Christianity not only did so, but in a wonderful manner shew'd this to be true by that power the meanest Christian exercised by virtue of the Name of Jesus, to expel them from their Temples, Oracles, and from the Bodies which they had possessed, and even to force them, before their Priests and Votaries, to confess that they were evil Spirits; and for the truth of this they frequently appealed to the Senses and Consciences of Heathens, and the effects which these things had on many to engage them to embrace Christianity, as hath been fully proved, Preface to the Epistles, §. 10.

C H A P. VII.

The C O N T E N T S.

of the Worship which they paid to these false Deities was exceeding bad, they worshipping them, (1st.) with the Oblation of humane Sacrifices, yea of their Sons and Daughters unto Devils, §. 1. These Sacrifices were wicked upon such accounts as

do not in the least agree to our Lord's Oblation of himself upon the Cross, §. 2. The Wisdom of that Dispensation, Ibid. (2dly,) The cutting themselves with Knives and Lances, and the Eviration of their Priests, §. 3. The filthy Rites used in their Floralia, Bacchanalia, the worship of Venus, and of others, §. 4. The vile Objects of their worship not fit to be named, §. 5. Their ridiculous worship of their Gods by lamentations, imprecations, reproaches, and by threats, §. 6. This vile Worship was established by the Laws of their Countries, confirmed by their Oracles, and by the rule of their Philosophers enjoining all to worship according to the Rites of their Countries, §. 7. The Philosophers were self-condemned, and acted contrary to their own Maxims, in establishing and complying with these Rites, §. 8. The advantage of the religious Rites of Worship prescribed by the Christian Precepts, above those embraced not only by the Heathen, but the Jews also, Ibid.

I Pass on, lastly, to those ways of worshipping these Deities, by which, had they been true Gods, they could not be propitiated, but provoked, as representing them the vilest and the worst of Being And,

§. crific
and v
we f
know
in Ca
both
this l
learn
they
widen
sian
Heliop
on a
and ge
crifices
dicea
nerva
Arabia
Phylar
in rās
fore th
Man;
and T
Man to
afterwa
sacrific

• Justin
• Ibid.

§. I. 157, The Oblation of humane Sacrifices was very barbarous and inhumane, and yet it was so generally practised, that we find examples of it in most of the known Regions of the World : It obtain'd in *Carthage* the Metropolis of *Africa*, as both *Justin* and *Porphyry* inform us; and this barbarous custome they undoubtedly learnt from those *Phœnicians* from whom they had their Rise; for, saith *Porphyry*, *πληρὴς ἡ Φοινικὴ ἰσορῳα τῷ θυσιάζειν*, the *Phœnician History* is full of such Sacrifices : At *Heliopolis* in *Egypt* they sacrificed three Men on a day to *Juno*, till *Amosis* took away τὸ ἀνθρώπου κλονίας νόμον, the Law of humane Sacrifices, saith the same *Porphyry* : In *Laodicea Syria* they sacrificed a Virgin to *Minerva*; and the *Dumatians*, a People of *Arabia*, yearly sacrificed *παῖδα* a Youth; and *Phylarchus* saith of all the *Grecians*, *πρὶν τὰς πολέμους ἔτιναι ἀνθρώπου κλονεῖν*, that before they went to the Wars they sacrificed a Man; and to omit, saith he, the *Scythians* and *Thracians*, at *Rhodes* they sacrificed a Man to *Saturn*, at *Salamis* to *Agraula*, and afterwards to *Diomedes*; that in *Chios* they sacrificed a Man to *Bacchus Omadius*, tear-

* Justin. l. 18. c. 6.
* Ibid. §. 55.

† De Abstin. l. 2. §. 56.

ing him in pieces, because he delighted in raw Flesh; that in *Tenedos* they did the same; and that the *Lacedemonians* sacrificed a Man to *Mars*; to *Diana Taurica* they sacrificed Strangers, whence *Euripides* justly blames her that she would admit none to worship her who had killed a Man, or touched a dead Body, and yet delighted in the death of Men; the *Gauls* and *Scythians*, saith *Plutarch*, used these Sacrifices supposing that the Gods delighted in the Blood of Men, and that this was the most perfect Sacrifice: The *Gauls*, saith *Athenæus*, sacrificed those Captives whom they took in War; this they did, saith *Julius Caesar*, in grievous Diseases, and great Dangers, and had the *Druids* to minister in those Sacrifices, *quod pro vita hominis nisi vita hominis reddatur non posse Deorum immortalium iram placari arbitrantur*, as thinking the immortal Gods could not be atoned for the life of one Man without the life of another of the *Germans*. *Tacitus* saith, they chiefly worshipped *Mercury*, *cui etiam certis diebus*

Τὰ τ' δὲ καὶ μεμφομαι σοφίσματα

Ἡτις βέλτερον ἀντὶς ἀφ' ἧς οὐκ

Ἡ καὶ λοχέας, καὶ νέκρεθ' ἴσθι χερσὶν

Βαυλὸν ἀπέρριψεν, μύσαρον αἰς ἡνὶ μύρον,

Αὐτὴ δ' ὁ δούσιαις ἡδὲ βροτοῖσι.

In Iphigenia

Χαλερὸν ἀνθρώπων σφαττομένων αἵμασι καὶ τελευτῶν
ἢ δούσιαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν ταύτῃ νομίζοντας, De Sup

p. 171. B.

Deipnos. l. 4. p. 160.

De bello Gall. l. 6. §. 16.

De Mor. German. p. 634.

hum

humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent, whom also upon certain days they worship with humane Sacrifices: And lastly, even ⁿ Porphyry saith, it was well known that even to his time a Man was sacrificed even in Rome, to *Jupiter Latiaris*; and ^o Plato saith that this custome of sacrificing Men continued in his time in many places; and yet the wiser Heathens by the Light of Nature condemned this practise as Irreligious and Atheistical; ^p Justin saith of the Carthaginians, that they did, *scelere pro remedio uti, pacem Dearum sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vita Dii rogari maxime solent*; and ^q Cicero saith, there can be nothing holy or religious among the Gauls, because they used this barbarous and cruel custome of sacrificing Men. And Plutarch, speaking of the same Gauls and Scythians, saith, it was better *ἔννοιαν ἔχειν τῶν Θεῶν*, to have had no knowledge of the Gods at all, than thus to have

^r Ἄλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τις ἀνοεὶ καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ πόλιν τῇ τῶν θεῶν Διὶ ἐοικῆσθαι σφαζόμενον ἄνθρωπον. De abst. l. 2, p. 56.

^s Τὸ δ' οὐ μὴν εἶναι ἄνθρωπος ἀλλήλους ἔτι καὶ νῦν παρὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς. De Leg. p. 875. ^p Ubi supra.

^t His quidpiam Gallis sanctum & religiosum videre potest, etiam si quando aliquo metu adducti Deos esse placandos putantur, humanis hostiis aras funestant, ut ne Religionem eandem colere possint nisi eam ipsam prius scelere violaverint, quis enim nescit eos usque ad hunc diem retinere illam humanam & barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolando. Orat. pro Fonteio. n. 17, 18.

^u De Superst. p. 171, B.

sacrificed to them; and the Poet in *Sto- blæus* represents him as κακῆς *a vile Wretch*, who thought God could be delighted with the slaughter of Men.

But, 2dly, In the sacrificing of their own beloved Off-spring to the Gods, they were even in the judgment of the sober *Heathens* unnatural, as well as barbarous and cruel. This was done by the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, as both the Scriptures and profane Authors, *Poets*, *Philosophers*, and *Historians*, do fully testifie. From *Tyre*, an Island in *Phœnicia*, this custome was derived to the *Carthaginians*, (their City being built by the *Tyrians*) who sacrificed not only one of their Children, as *Curtius* and *Porphyrus* seem to hint, for *Justin* saith they sacrificed *impuberes* young Children in the plural, such as even Enemies would be merciful to; and *Plato*, that they sacrificed their Sons: *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that they apprehended *Saturn* to be angry with them, because they formerly having sacrificed the best of their Sons, afterwards

* Serm. 9. p. 101.

† Poeni sunt soliti sos sacrificare puellios. Ennius.

‡ Φοίνικες ὅ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ ἢ πολέμων ἢ αὐτῶν ἢ λοιμῶν ἐθύοντο τῶν φίλων τινὰ ψήφισοντες τὸ κρῖναι. Porph. l. 2. de abst. Animal. §. 56.

* Ut ingenuus puer Saturno immolaretur, l. 4. c. 3.

† Just. l. 18. c. 16. Καρχηδόνιοι θύουσιν ὡς ὅσιον ὃν κρῖναι μίμον αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα ἐνίοι αὐτῶν υἱοῖς τὸ κρῖναι. p. 565. C.

crificed such as they bought, and privately bred up; to correct which fault, ¹ ὁλοκαυστῶν καὶ ἐμφανεσάτων παιδῶν προκρίνοντες ἑδούξ' δημοσίᾳ, *chusing out two hundred of their best Children, they sacrificed them publickly; and others being in Calamity, sacrificed no less than three hundred. Plutarch* doth not only say that they offered their own Children, and that οἱ ἀτεχνοί, *they who had none, bought the Children of the Poor to offer, but also that the Mothers of the Children offer'd by them stood by without any Tears or Groans, making a noise with Pipes and Drums that the Cries of the Children might not be heard: Now this, saith Curtius, was sacrilegium magis quam sacrum, Sacrilege rather than Sanctity; and Plutarch saith, it was better to own no Gods than thus to worship them: That therefore such a barbarous custome should obtain among the Athenians, so celebrated for their Wisdom, that, as ² Eusebius informs us, they should send yearly, παιδῶν ἄρρενας ἑφῆρας ἑπτα, καὶ θειῶν ἱσαριθμὸς παρθένους, *seven Boys, and as many Virgins, to be sacrificed in Crete, is an evidence of the prevailing force of Superstition; and that the Pelasgi, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis informs us, should be commanded by an Oracle to offer the First-**

¹ L. 20. p. 756. D.

² Præp. Evang. l. 5. c. 18.

fruits of their Bodies to the Gods, is a sufficient demonstration that the Deities, from whom such Oracles proceeded, must be evil Spirits.

S. II. But here it may, perhaps, be suggested by the *Deist* and *Socinian*, that if it deservedly be thought a barbarous and inhumane thing to offer humane Sacrifices, and even their own Off-spring, to the Deity, and irreligious and wicked to imagine the Gods could either require or be delighted with such Sacrifices, it seems still more absurd and wicked to assert, that the true God should have required the Sacrifice of his own innocent and well-beloved Son to reconcile him to Mankind, and to procure the pardon of their Sins, and their deliverance from his Wrath; even *Cotta* represents this as a great absurdity in the case of the two *Decii*. Now to this I answer, That the sacrificing of Men, and offering Sons and Daughters by the Heathens to their *Deities*, was unreasonable and wicked upon such accounts as do not in the least agree to the Oblation of our Saviour for our sakes. For,

Tu etiam Deciorum devotionibus placatos Deos esse censes; quæ fuit eorum tanta iniquitas ut placari populo non possent nisi Viri tales occidissent? Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3. in. 10.

157, The

157. They were cruel Murthers of Men, over whose Lives they, who thus sacrificed them, had no just power, and who scarce ever did consent to suffer for their sakes; or Murthers committed against natural Affection, as when they offered their Sons and Daughters to appease their Deities, and so they only did endeavour to appease God by transgressing those Laws of Nature he had implanted in them; but then when *Curtius* and the two *Decii* among the *Romans*, and *Codrus* King of *Athens* voluntarily gave up their own Lives for their own Country, and *Erechtheus* offered up his Daughter to *Proserpina* to preserve *Greece*, how celebrated was their Piety, how glorious their Fate esteemed among the *Heavens*, who thought that it became them, *ταυτων* *απολασας* *το* *το* *κοινον* *α* *ωφελειν*, *to prefer the safety of the Publick before the preservation of themselves*, and said he was *δεομαι* *his* *one* *highly* *favaured* *by* *God* *who* *did* *so*? Now this was our Lord's case; He, out of Love to his Sheep, gave his Life freely for them; and tho' he laid it down in compliance with his Father's will, yet was he not slain by the immediate Hand of Heaven, but only providentially given up into the Hands of wicked Men, who were severely punished for murdering the Lord of Life; it therefore was his great Affection to the Sons of Men, and his ready Obedience

ence to his Father's will, which made this Sacrifice so pleasing to God, and so propitiatory for us.

2dly, The Oblation of humane Sacrifices, the Burning of their Children to *Saturn* and to *Moloch*, was therefore so unreasonable in it self, and so abominable in the sight of God, because it represented God as cruel and inhumane, one who required Men to butcher one another, and to destroy their Off-spring that he might be delighted and even gluttet with their Blood, and would be angry with them when they neglected to serve him in this unnatural and inhumane manner, and so it tended to beget in Men unworthy apprehensions of God, as barbarous and cruel to Mankind. But in the instance of our Saviour's Passion, God requires no Man's life at our hands, but out of his great mercy, pity, and compassion to the Sons of Men, obnoxious to death and misery, doth himself send and freely give up his own Son to suffer by the hands of wicked Men, for the Salvation of Mankind, and to procure them a deliverance from the Wrath to come; which was so plain an indication of his great Love, rich Grace and Mercy to the Sons of Men, as naturally tendeth to beget in us the best, the kindest, and the most comfortable thoughts of the divine Majesty. Hence that our Lord thus suffered by the will

will of God, thus *tasted death for every Man*, thus *died for all when all were dead*, is through the tenor of the ^bNew Testament still represented as the highest instance of the free love of God the Father, and of the riches of his Grace in which he hath abounded to us; and in this God is said emphatically to have commended his love to us, in that *when we were sinners, Christ died for us*. Moreover here only one once suffer'd from the foundation of the World for all Mankind, and then entred into his Glory; whereas the *Heathen* Sacrifices were many, and were as oft to be repeated as they were subject to Calamities.

3dly, Whereas nothing could be learnt from these instances of humane Sacrifices for our instruction, unless it be that all Men passionately desire, and will give all they can, to preserve their lives, or that a general Tradition had obtained among them, that they were to offer Sacrifices for the remission of their Sins, and that they were to give $\psi\upsilon\chi\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$, *life for life* (these humane Sacrifices being rather apt to teach Men Barbarity and savage Cruelty, and to thirst after humane Blood for the appeasing of their Rage) this example furnishes us with the most noble Pattern of, and the

John 3. 9, 10. Eph. 1. 7, 8. Rom. 5. 5, 8.

ence to his Father's will, which made this Sacrifice so pleasing to God, and so propitiatory for us.

2dly, The Oblation of humane Sacrifices, the Burning of their Children to *Saturn* and to *Moloch*, was therefore so unreasonable in it self, and so abominable in the sight of God, because it represented God as cruel and inhumane, one who required Men to butcher one another, and to destroy their Off-spring that he might be delighted and even glutted with their Blood, and would be angry with them when they neglected to serve him in this unnatural and inhumane manner, and so it tended to beget in Men unworthy apprehensions of God, as barbarous and cruel to Mankind. But in the instance of our Saviour's Passion, God requires no Man's life at our hands, but out of his great mercy, pity, and compassion to the Sons of Men, obnoxious to death and misery, doth himself send and freely give up his own Son to suffer by the hands of wicked Men, for the Salvation of Mankind, and to procure them a deliverance from the Wrath to come; which was so plain an indication of his great Love, rich Grace and Mercy to the Sons of Men, as naturally tendeth to beget in us the best, the kindest, and the most comfortable thoughts of the divine Majesty. Hence that our Lord thus suffered by the

will

will
thus
thro
still
the f
the r
about
emph
love
Christ
once
Work
into
fices
peate
3d
from
for o
passio
can,
ral T
that
missio
give
huma
Men
thirst
of th
with
Joh

will of God, thus *tasted death for every Man,* thus *died for all when all were dead,* is through the tenor of the ^b New Testament still represented as the highest instance of the free love of God the Father, and of the riches of his Grace in which he hath abounded to us; and in this God is said emphatically to have commended his love to us, in that *when we were sinners, Christ died for us.* Moreover here only once suffer'd from the foundation of the World for all Mankind, and then entred into his Glory; whereas the *Heathen* Sacrifices were many, and were as oft to be repeated as they were subject to Calamities.

3dly, Whereas nothing could be learnt from these instances of humane Sacrifices for our instruction, unless it be that all Men passionately desire, and will give all they can, to preserve their lives, or that a general Tradition had obtained among them, that they were to offer Sacrifices for the remission of their Sins, and that they were to give *ψυχῶν αὐτῶν ψυχῆς, life for life* (these humane Sacrifices being rather apt to teach Men Barbarity and savage Cruelty, and to thirst after humane Blood for the appeasing of their Rage) this example furnishes us with the most noble Pattern of, and the

John 3. 9, 10. Eph. 1. 7, 8. Rom. 5. 5, 8.

most powerful Inducements to, the performance of our whole duty both to God and Man, *viz.* Of that entire love to God which is the great Commandment, and comprehensive of all the other Duties which we owe unto him. (2.) Of Obedience to him in the severest instances, which is the highest test of Love, *I love my Father, saith he, and as he hath given me a Commandment so I do, being obedient to the death, even the death of the Cross, John 14:31.* (3.) Of entire resignation to, and acquiescence in, the will of God, he saying, in his most bitter Agonies, *not my will, but thine be done.* (4.) Of perfect Patience and Meekness under all our sufferings; for he went as a Lamb to the Slaughter, *And as a Sheep before the Shearer was dumb, so he opened not his mouth; when he was reviled he reviled not again; when he suffered he did not threaten.* (5.) Of humble trust in God even when he seemed to forsake him, for he expired with this fiducial Expression, *Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit.* (6.) His fervent love to the Souls of Men was wonderful, for he loved us, and gave himself for us; now greater love than this hath no Man, than that he lay down his Life for his Friend, whereas he did it for his Enemies, even for them who thirsted for his Blood. (7.) He gave us a most glorious example of forgiving Injuries

juries, in his forgiveness of those who after his continual kindness to them, treated him so barbarously, and cryed so loud to Pilate to crucifie him; yea he not only did himself forgive them, but expired with this Prayer, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do.* (8.) He shewed his great Humility; for tho' he was our Lord and Master, yet he came to minister to us, and gave himself a Ransom for many; he humbled himself to the death, even the death of the Cross, for our sakes: Who therefore, after this Example, can think himself too high, too great, too good to minister to the Necessities and Welfare of his *Christian Brother*? All these, and many other Christian Virtues, we learn from the example of our suffering Lord, and they are so many Indications both of the Wisdom and Kindness of that God who permitted him thus to suffer, that he might be an example for us to follow his steps. Now, if the Providence of God, without any shew of Cruelty or Injustice, may permit and order good Men to suffer in all Ages only to be examples to others of Faith, Patience and Submission to the Will of God; if even an Heathen *Seneca* thought this a good Apology for Providence exposing a good Man to the severest Sufferings, that he was, *natus ad exemplar ut etiam*

alios pati doceat, born to be an example of Sufferings, and that they were, ^a *documenta fidei, documenta patientia*, Instructions to others of Faith and Patience; why should it be esteemed unworthy of divine Providence to permit the Holy *Jesus* thus to suffer both as an example of these and many other *Christian* Virtues, and for the greatest benefit of all Mankind? Especially if we consider that Exaltation and that Crown of Glory he soon received in that humane Nature which was the subject of these Sufferings, as the reward of what he suffered, by which we are assured of the great love of God to those who suffer according to his will, and for his sake, and of the glorious Rewards they also may expect, which is sufficient, saith the *Apostle*, to make us *stedfast and immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, as knowing that our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.* 1 Cor. 15. 28.

Obj. But it may be enquired still what was it that could move a righteous God and loving Father, to suspend our Pardon Peace with, and Reconciliation to him upon the death of his beloved Son, and to admit of no atonement for our Sin but through the Blood of the innocent and holy *Jesus*, seeing it seemeth at first sight unju

^a Cap. 3.

that an innocent Person should suffer or be punished for the Sins of others? Now to this I answer,

1st, That it seems absolutely necessary in this case that the substitution of another willing to suffer in our stead, should be admitted, or that we our selves should suffer what the Law hath threatned, and our Sins deserved, or that a full and free pardon of our Sins should be granted to us without any suffering of our selves or any other in our stead. The admission of another to suffer in our stead is the thing in dispute; if therefore that be granted, the Wisdom and Justice of God in this Dispensation must be owned; if we our selves must be obliged to suffer the threatned Penalty and due Reward of our Iniquity, that being Death under the divine Displeasure, that Death from which we could not hope for a recovery, all Mankind must have been inevitably subject to that Punishment, *all having sinned and fallen short of the glory of God*, Rom. 3. 23. 2^{dly}, Should God have issued out a general Indemnity, and given us a full Remission of our Sins, without any thing required by way of reparation for the violations of his Law, he must have pardoned all Sinners without any demonstration of his Holiness and Justice, or of his hatred to Sin, or of his purpose to punish the transgressors of his Law, or to deal

P

alios pati doceat, born to be an example of Sufferings, and that they were, ^d *documenta fidei, documenta patientiae*, Instructions to others of Faith and Patience; why should it be esteemed unworthy of divine Providence to permit the Holy *Jesus* thus to suffer both as an example of these and many other *Christian* Virtues, and for the greatest benefit of all Mankind? Especially if we consider that Exaltation and that Crown of Glory he soon received in that humane Nature which was the subject of these Sufferings, as the reward of what he suffered, by which we are assured of the great love of God to those who suffer according to his will, and for his sake, and of the glorious Rewards they also may expect, which is sufficient, saith the *Apostle*, to make us *stedfast and immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, as knowing that our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.* 1 Cor. 15. 28.

Obj. But it may be enquired still what was it that could move a righteous God and loving Father, to suspend our Pardon, Peace with, and Reconciliation to him upon the death of his beloved Son, and to admit of no atonement for our Sin but through the Blood of the innocent and holy *Jesus*, seeing it seemeth at first sight unju

that an innocent Person should suffer or be punished for the Sins of others? Now to this I answer,

1st, That it seems absolutely necessary in this case that the substitution of another willing to suffer in our stead, should be admitted, or that we our selves should suffer what the Law hath threatned, and our Sins deserved, or that a full and free pardon of our Sins should be granted to us without any suffering of our selves or any other in our stead. The admission of another to suffer in our stead is the thing in dispute; if therefore that be granted, the Wisdom and Justice of God in this Dispensation must be owned; if we our selves must be obliged to suffer the threatned Penalty and due Reward of our Iniquity, that being Death under the divine Displeasure, that Death from which we could not hope for a recovery, all Mankind must have been inevitably subject to that Punishment, *all having sinned and fallen short of the glory of God*, Rom. 3. 23. 2^{dly}, Should God have issued out a general Indemnity, and given us a full Remission of our Sins, without any thing required by way of reparation for the violations of his Law, he must have abandoned all Sinners without any demonstration of his Holiness and Justice, or of his hatred to Sin, or of his purpose to punish the transgressors of his Law, or to deal

P

deal with Men according to their Works, and so without sufficient motives to deter us from Sin for the future, which as it seems not well consistent with his Holiness and Justice, so it is less consistent with that relation which he bears to us as our Governour and great Lawgiver, which plainly seems to require the vindication of his Honour and the preservation of those Laws he hath established from contempt. As improbable therefore as it is, that God should give encouragement to Sin by a too easy forgiveness of it, or that an infinitely holy God, who bears the greatest hatred to Sin, should not effectually discountenance and discourage it, and should not leave Men sensible of the great evil of it, and afraid to offend for the future; so improbable is it that God should have absolutely pardoned Sin without any Punishment inflicted, or Satisfaction made to the Honour of his Justice.

If it be said, he might have issued out Pardon upon condition of Repentance, it is obvious to reply,

1st, That in no Government by Law hath this been thought sufficient to vindicate the Honour of the Governour, and to deter Men from the violation of his Laws; all Nations having judged it fit, that Offenders should not be only sorry for the violation of them, and promise to offer

no more, but also that they should be punished, both to deter themselves, and others, from the like Offences; and the general Practice and Tradition which obtained among all Nations of offering propitiatory sacrifices for their Offences done against the Deity they worshipped, shews that it was universally received among them, that something more than bare Repentance, even the substitution of some other to suffer in their stead, was to be done for reparation of their Offences against God. I answer, 2dly, That if it be necessary to require this Repentance to preserve Men from violating the Laws of God, 'tis suitable to divine Wisdom to order this should be done in a way most effectual to reform them, and keep them from offending for the future, because this best answers the design of the Law, by securing the observance of it. Now this is done exactly by this Dispensation, in which God hath both given us the most effectual Example in our Saviour's sufferings to deter us from Sin, and hath sustained all the benefit arising to us from his sufferings on our Repentance and engagement of Obedience for the future; whereas had God required only Repentance, and threatned Death to the Impenitent, they might have hoped that he who once had freely pardoned the Death he threatned to the Sinner without exacting any

Punishment or Suffering from the Offender, might also freely pardon the Impenitent and never execute upon him the Death threatned; it being an act of Wisdom not to afford a full remission of our Sins without requiring any thing by way of Satisfaction for the violation of his Laws, it must be both an act of Grace and Wisdom to admit another to suffer in our stead.

3dly, Consider that by the Obedience of our Lord *Jesus* to the Death in our stead all the great ends of Punishment designed by wise Governours were signally obtained and that with more advantage to God's Glory, than if the Punishment of our Offences had been inflicted upon us, and God by it may be truly said to have been satisfied, seeing that Justice which consists in punishing for the transgression of a Law is truly satisfied, when all those ends for which the Punishment of Offenders could be desired, are obtained. Now the ends of Punishment are these three,

1st, Παράδειγμα, That they who suffer may be Examples to others, and may see what they do endure, deter them from like Offences.

2dly, Νουθεσία, Instruction, That the Offender may learn Wisdom by the Rod, that the remembrance of what he is to suffer by it, may prevent the repetition of his Sin, and that he may be fitted to embrace

Coun

Counsel of our Lord, *Sin no more, lest a worse thing happen to thee.*

3dly, *Τίμωσις*, The vindication of the Honour of the Governour, and the preservation of the Laws he hath established from contempt. Now,

1st, God by this Dispensation hath given us the most effectual Example to deter us from Sin: For, (1.) By what our Saviour suffered for Sin, we see that God is certainly in earnest when he threatneth Death to Sinners, and that he is fully resolved upon the punishment of Sin, since he inflicted so great Punishment on the beloved of his Soul when he became our Surety; for if on this account *he spared not his Son*, we may be sure he will not spare his stubborn Enemies. Moreover, this Example shews how insupportable the Punishment will be which Justice will inflict upon the Sinner; for if the apprehension of the sufferings due to Sin, produced such Agonies and Consternations in the Soul of Christ, that God saw need to send an Angel to support him, how must the Sinner sink under the Burthen, when it is laid upon his Shoulders?

2dly, Whereas inevitable Ruin must have followed upon the execution of the deserved Punishment on the offending Persons, God by this way hath taken a fit method for the reformation of the Sinner,

which was the second end of Punishment; for what can be a more effectual Motive to abstain from Sin than this Example, which represents the greatness of the Provocation in the greatness of the Punishment, and shews that the guilty Person neither can avoid the stroke of God's vindictive Justice, nor bear the weight of those Sufferings which God hath threatened to the Sinner.

3dly, God by this Dispensation hath sufficiently consulted the vindication of his Honour, and the reverence and observation of his Laws, which was the third great end of Punishment; for by declaring he would not pardon our Offences without a reparation made for the violation of his Laws, he hath fully vindicated his Institutions from contempt, seeing by this Example he hath let all Men know, that tho' he be a God of mercy and long-suffering, he will by no means suffer the violation of his Laws to go unpunished. Again God by thus punishing our Sin, even in his own beloved Son when he became our Surety, hath shewed his hatred of, and great displeasure against Sin, for the greater is the inducement to remit the Punishment, the greater must be his hatred of it, that therefore this consideration that he who was to suffer was his only Son, would not induce him to remit that Punishment, and

delive

deliver his Beloved out of the hands of the ungodly, must be the strongest demonstration of his most perfect hatred of all Iniquity.

But, on the other hand, suppose that God pardoned all Mens past Sins against him without any valuable Consideration, and with an absolute Freedom forgave Men all the Punishments his Law had threatned to them, and ceased from all his Anger and Displeasure against Sinners without any Atonement required; how will it appear he was at all concerned to vindicate the honour of his Laws, or shew his hatred against Sin? For if God could freely pardon the Sins of the whole World without any Satisfaction made to his offended Justice, there can be nothing in the Nature of God, or in his Attributes, his Truth, Holiness or Justice, or even in that relation he bears to us, as Rector of the Universe, which requires he should punish Sin, or shew any displeasure against it, and so the Punishment of the Sinner must depend purely on his arbitrary Will, and it must be as agreeable to his Nature, and as consistent with his Government, to let the Sinner go unpunished, and remit all his Threats against him; which supposition must therefore be absurd, because it gives so great encouragement to all Men to continue still

in their Iniquities without fear of Punishment.

Since then no Lawgiver requires the punishment of the Offender himself, rather than of another for him, who is willing to be his Surety, and suffer in his stead, on any account but this, that the Sufferings of the Offender himself will only or better answer the forementioned ends of Punishment, when that can equally be done by what another suffers, as I have shew'd in this case it was, the Lawgiver must equally be satisfied, because the ends of his Law are equally obtained.

'Tis indeed certain that a wise and prudent Governour will never thus accept the suffering of another, but when he seeth a just and reasonable cause so to do; that is when it is not unreasonable or unjust to let him suffer in the other's stead: Now then it seems unreasonable to admit the punishment of another for the Criminal when that other Person hath not in the case power over his own Will, or freedom to consent to such a Punishment, nor can he serve the ends of Justice or Mercy by doing; we therefore cannot chuse, nor can the Magistrate reasonably admit us to do for other Criminals, when they in Person may be punished, because we have no power to dispose of our own Lives, but are obliged to preserve them till Providence sees fit

ca

call us hence ; the Life we may be willing to lay down for others, we have no power to take up again, nor can we hope for a reward from God for suffering without his order for the sake of Evil-doers, nor is it visible how we can serve the ends of Justice or of Government by so doing, more than the Criminal would do himself by his own Sufferings ; but in the instance of our blessed Lord all things are otherwise : For,

1st, He was a willing Sufferer ; *None*, saith he, *takes away my life, I lay it down of my self*, John 10. 18. *saith*, not God the Father by any act of his Dominion, or an immediate Stroke, but only by his providential Dispensation ; not Man, by any force he could have exercised upon him, had he not been willing of himself to lay down his Life ; and when a Body was prepared in which he was to suffer, said, *Lo ! I come to do thy will, O God.*

2^{dly}, He had that power over his Life which we have not ; *I have power*, saith he, *to lay it down* : And,

3^{dly}, What he thus laid down he had power to take up again, yea he was sure to do it before his Body saw Corruption, Acts 2. 24.

4^{thly}, He was assured of an ample compensation for, and glorious reward of all his

his sufferings, and therefore for the joy that was set before him endured the Cross, Hebr. 12. 2. Now since *Philosophers* thought the Gods expected they should retain their Virtue with the loss of Life, since 'tis not thought unjust in God the Father, or the Son, to require *Christians* to be faithful to them to the death in expectation of that Crown of Life which fadeth not away, or to lay down this temporal Life that we may find it happily improved into Life eternal; why should it be conceived hard in God the Father to require his Son to lay down that Life for a little season, for the Salvation of Mankind, which would so soon be recompensed, not only with a glorious Resurrection, but also with his Session at the Right-hand of God, and such a glorious Name and Exaltation, that at the name of *Jesus* every knee doth bow, of things in heaven, and in the earth, and under the earth? Hebr. 2. 9. Phil. 2. 10.

Lastly, Since by his Sufferings he served the ends of Mercy in our deliverance from Death, and all the ends of Government and legal Justice were so eminently obtained by his Vicarial Punishment, as hath been shewed already, there seems sufficient reason why the great Rector of the World with equal Wisdom, Justice and Mercy should thus admit his Son to suffer in our stead.

stead. From this prolix, but I hope not unprofitable Digression, I return,

§. III. 3dly, To other instances of the Cruelty and Inhumanity which obtained among the Heathens, as part of that religious Worship which they thought due unto their Deities; as *u. g.*

1st, The cutting of themselves with Knives and Lances, till the Blood gushed out upon them, as did the Priests of *Baal*, *Kings* 18. 28. This was a Rite used, saith *Herodotus* to *Isis*; saith *Apuleius* to the Mother of the Gods; to *Bellona*, saith *Lampridius*: And like this was,

2dly, The Eviration of those Priests which served the Mother of the Gods; of which, to omit *Herace*, *Juvenal*, *Lucan*, *Tibullus*, among the Poets, we have an account in *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Seneca*, and

16 In Isidis sacris Cares τὰ μέτωπα τῶν ἱερῶν μαχαίραισι.
Euterp. c. 16. Lacerant lacertos, veterum vulnorum reserant
Cicatrices. Jul. Firm, p. 4. Ancipiti ferro quod gerebant
sua quisque brachia dissecant, *Metamorph* l. 8. p. 214. Τάμ-
νον ὁ τῶν θυγῶν, *Lucian*. de Dea Syr, p. 419. Bellonæ
servientes vere excicare brachium præcepit studio crudelitatis.
in Vita Commodi, p. 278.

De Gallo Phrygiæ fluvio ἀφ' ἧς ἐπονομίαν φέρουσιν οἱ
αἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ ἱερῶν, l. 1. c. 20. ἀπ' οὗνεκα γὰρ τὸν τεμ-
νοῦντες τὰ αἰδῶα γάλλους καλεῖσι. Steph.

Samia testa Matris Deum Sacerdotes qui Galli vocantur
Virilitatem amputant, *Plin.* 35. c. 12.

others,

others. Now the Reflection of ^a Seneca upon these Practices is this, *how will they dread the Gods when angry, who thus serve them when they are propitious?* and saith ⁱ Quintilian, if the Deity compel them to do this, he is angry.

§. IV. 2dly, To pass on to their obscene and filthy Rites, they were so many, that it is not easie to recount them; they obtained so generally, that scarce a Nation or City was free from them; and they had few of their celebrated Deities which were not worshipped with some of them. And,

1st, The *Floralia*, among the Romans, as they had their original from the Whore *Flora*, so were they celebrated for four Days together by shameless Strumpets running up and down the Streets naked, and using many lascivious and obscene Gestures and Speeches, so vile, that *Cato* could not bear the sight of them. And ⁱ Justin informs us of the Adulteries committed at those Games.

2dly, The *Bacchanalia*, or *Eleusinian* Solemnities, as they were celebrated in the

^b Ille viriles partes sibi amputat, ille lacertos secat, ubi iratos timent, qui sic propitios merentur; apud August. de Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 10.

ⁱ Optime igitur Quintilianus in Fanatico, istud si Deus cogit iratus est, apud Lactant. l. 1. c. 21. p. 117.

* L. 43. c. 4.

Night, so were they in the vilest manner Deeds of Darknes; they being so full of all manner of Lewdness, that *Varro* said, they could only be celebrated by Mad-men, they were, saith *Nazianzen*, αἰχρὰ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς πρᾶγμασι, such as rendred Men impure in Body and in Actions; Men in the dark then satisfying their Lust both on Women and young Children, as ¹ *Livy* doth inform us, on which account they were banished out of *Rome*; and the ^m *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* saith, this was a consequent of their Drunkenness at that Feast: Hence Wise-men gave this advice to married Women, ⁿ τοῖς ὀψισμοῖς, καὶ μνησμοῖς ἀπέχειν, to abstain from the Feasts of *Bacchus* and of *Ceres*, or the Mother of the Gods, because they tended to Drunkenness and the Corrupting of chaste Women; and it was proverbially said of a chaste Woman, that ^o ἐν Βαχχιδμασιν οὐκ ἐδραφθῆκε, she was one who could not be Corrupted at the Feasts of *Bacchus*; and yet these were Solemnities observed not in *Greece* only, but in

¹ Cum vinum animos, & nox & misti foeminis mares, ætates teneræ majoribus, discrimen omne pudoris extinxissent, corruptelæ primum omnis generis fieri cœptæ, cum ad id quisque quo natura pronioris libidinis esset, paratam Voluptatem haberet, nec unum genus noxæ, supra promiscua ingenuorum faminarumque erant, l. 39. p. 487.

^m Ἀκόλυστα τῷ Διονυσίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἀφροδίτῃ, p. 384.

ⁿ Stob. Serm. 72. p. 444, 445.

^o Ibid. Serm. 5. p. 66.

most Nations of the World. And altho' these Solemnities were only celebrated in the Night, and kept so secret that it was death to divulge them, *ἔτι τ' αἰσχύνειν τ' ἐν τῇ συνάσει ἐπακολούθησεν*, by reason of the shame of their vile practices, saith Diodorus Siculus, yet was it a received opinion among them that they who were initiated into these and such like Mysteries, and made *ἐπὶ τῷ* Secret should dwell in the Islands or Region of the Blessed, and have a presidence there above others, tho' this was a thing so plainly contrary to Reason, that ^a Diogenes laugh'd at it; and Plutarch having cited Sophocles pronouncing them happy who died soon after they were initiated, and them miserable in Hades who were not, cautions his young Man against it, as a Saying which had filled *πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων μυριάδας*, many Myriads with Despondency, and therefore he confutes it with that Saying of Diogenes, that 'twas ridiculous to think that *Palacion* the Thief should be happy because he was initiated, and *Epaminondas* miserable be-

^a Ἐν αὐτῇ περὶ δεινῶν οἱ μεμνημένοι τυγχάνουσιν. Ita Athenienses ad Diogen. Laert. l. 6. §. 39. Ubi vide Menag. & notas, & de Antisthene Orphicis Mysteriorum initiato, τοῖς ἱερέως ἐπιποιῶντι ὅτι οἱ ταῦτα μνησθέντες πολλῶν ἀσθῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μέλλουσιν, Ibid. §. 4. Φιλοσιμότεροι εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῇ οἱ μεμνημένοι. Schol. Aristophan. p. 228.

^b Τελοῖον γὰρ.

^c De aud. Poet. p. 21.

cause he was not; which notwithstanding how much this Doctrine prevailed we learn from two grave Authors, viz. *Isocrates* in his Panegyrick, and *Aristides* in his *Panathenaica*, who represent these as the great advantages of this Initiation, viz. the pardon of all the miscarriages of their past life, a comfortable life, good hopes at death, and better hopes after death, viz. a freedom from that Darkness and Filthiness which others must expect; ἀμύνη, or one not initiated, in their Language signifying the same as a profane and wicked Person: In a word *Juvenal's* enquiry shews this was the common practice in their Temples, and *Tatian* informs us from his own knowledge, that their Mysteries were performed chiefly by effeminate People, and *Hermophradites*.

At *Abydus*, *Samos*, *Ephesus*, and in many other places, they built Temples *Meretriciae*

Τελείης οἱ μετέχοντες πρὶ τὸ τῆς βίης τελείης καὶ τῆς συμπαλῆς αἰῶνος ἡδύς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν. Περ.

90. Ἀλλὰ μὲν τὸ τε κέρδιον τῆς πανήγυρος — ἐχ αἰτῆς πρὸς τὴν χρόνον δυσκολιῶν λύσεις καὶ ἀπαλλαγὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῆς τελείης ἡδύς ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας ὡς ἀμεινον διατάξαντες, καὶ ἐν σκότῳ τε καὶ βορβύρῳ κεισομένης, ἃ ἡ τοῦ ἀμύνης ἀκαμψία. Aristid.

In quo non prostat foemina Templo? Sat. 9. v. 24.

Ταῦτα ἐν ἰδῶν ἔτι ὅ καὶ μυσηίων μελαβῶν καὶ τὰς πᾶσι θρησκείαις δοκιμάσας διὰ θηλυδαιῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν σιωπῶντες. Contra. Gent. p. 165. A.

Veneri,

Veneri, i. e. for Whoredom, at which the *Phœnicians* and others prostituted their Daughters before Marriage. The *Babylonians*, saith *Strabo*, were directed to do this by an *Oracle*, and by this they were, saith *Herodotus*, made holy, καὶ ἀποσιωταρχίαι τῇ θεῷ, and consecrated to the Goddess; and a like Law, saith he, obtained among the *Cyprians*. The *Law* of the *Armenians* obliged even the most noble Persons to consecrate their Virgins to *Annitia* by a long practice of this Sin.

This, saith *Athenæus*, was the Practice of the *Lydians*, the *Locrians*, the *Cyprians*, καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῷ ἱερουργίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κόρας ἀφοσιέντων, and of all who consecrated their Virgins by Whoredom. The *Corinthian Venus* had, saith *Strabo*, πλείους ἢ χιλιάς ἱεροδούλας ἱταίρας, more than a thousand Whores who ministred at once to her, and those who came to worship her; by these they supplicated, saith *Athenæus*, for Blessings, and vow'd that if they obtained their Petitions, they would encrease her stock of Whores. The *Cappadocians* had multitudes of like Women who prostituted themselves

^a Κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, l. 16. p. 745.

^b Οἷς νόμος ἐστὶ καταπερνέσθαι πολλὰς χεῖρας τῇ θεῷ, μετὰ ταῦτα δίδωσθαι πρὸς γάμον. *Strabo*, l. 6. p. 332.

^c L. 12. p. 516. A. B.

^d L. 13. p. 373.

in her Temple; and hence, saith *Strabo*, it was called, μικρὴ κορινθία; *a little Corinth*. In the Temple of the *Egyptian Isis* the same nefarious practice obtained, her Solemnities being stiled by *Juvenal*, *Isiacæ sacraria*, the *Sacra* of the *Bawd Isis*: And *Lucian* says, the Woman who would not have herself at the Funeral of *Adonis*, was bound to prostitute her self for a Day to Strangers, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς Ἀφροδίτῃ θυσιῇ γίνεσθαι, and to sacrifice her Gain to *Venus*. ^d *Valerius Maximus* informs us, that in *Sicca*, an African Colony, their Matrons prostituted themselves in the Temples of *Venus*; and *Athanasius* saith of the *Phœnicians*, that their Women did prostitute themselves before their Idols, and dedicate their Gain to their Gods, νομιζούσαι τῇ πορνείᾳ τὸ θεῖον ἐωτῆσαι, καὶ εἰς ἐυφροσύνην ἀλτὲρ αὐτῶν, thinking by their Whoredoms to propitiate the Goddess, and procure her Benevolence. *Julius Firmicus* informs us, that in the Temple of *Venus*, ^e *Sodomy* was not only committed, but made the matter of their Glory. The Oracle

^c De Dea Syria, p. 752.

^d Sicca est fanum Veneris, in quod se Matronæ conferebant, atque inde procedentes dotes corporis injuria conferebant, l. 2. c. 6.

^e Orat. adv. Gentes, p. 27.

^f Videre est in ipsis Templis viros muliebria pati, & hanc impuri & impudici corporis labem gloriosa ostentatione detestari, p. 7.

at *Delphos*, saith * *Theodoret*, praised the Wisdom of *Lycurgus*, who allowed the love of Boys; and the *Pythian Oracle*, saith * *Lucian*, the Wisdom of *Socrates*, who practised it as *μάλιστα ὠφέλῃ* most profitable; and the *Phœnicians*, saith * *Athanasius*, thought it a grateful piece of service to the Mother of the Gods to play the Sodomites,

§. V. 3dly, They had many Rites which made their Worship incredibly and almost beyond imagination vile as to the Object of it: For,

1st, What can strike a greater horror into our Thoughts than this Consideration that they worshipped *τὰ ἀερηλα μέρη*, what modesty will not permit us to mention, paying their worship to *Priapus*, and saying *τὸ ὃ μόνον τῷ ὤματι τὸ τὴν χύσιν αὐτίαν τιμᾶν προσήκοντως*, that Part of the Body was fit to be worshipped whence we received our Being. * *Diodorus Siculus* informs us it was not only worshipped among the *Egyptians* in the *Sacra* of *Isis* and *Osiris*, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἐκ ὁλίγης καθιερωμένοι καὶ τὰς τελετάς, but in the Solemnities of many other Nations and that he was there worshipped not only in the sacred Offices of their Cities, but al

* Serm. 10. adv. Gr. p. 630. A.

* De Amor. p. 23

* Orat. adv. Gent. p. 165. * Diod. Sicul. l. 1. p. 78. ib.

Τὰς
τοῖς
μόνον
δεδο
ἐκ
Nat.
Τὸν
erm. adv.
L. 14.

of their Villages and Gardens, not only in the Solemnities of Bacchus, but in all their other Sacra, and kissed by them who came to the Solemnity, and to him their Choir of Singers chanted *φάλλια ἀσμελά*, their lewd Songs. And yet of this vile Deity it is to be observed from their Historians, that he being expelled from the City *Lampsacum*, the Inhabitants were smitten with strange Diseases in their Secrets, from which the Oracle at *Dodona* told them they could not be relieved till they did honour to this God. ^a *Theodoret* adds, that in the *Elenfian* Solemnities they worshipped *Pecten* *culiebre*, as the *Phallus* was revered in the Solemnities of *Bacchus*. And we know that *Ceres* was chiefly worshipped in *Sicily*, whence others derived her *Sacra*. Now of *Syracusa*, a chief City in *Sicily*, ^o *Athenus* informs us, from an Historian of that place, that they in the *Thesmophoria* of *Ceres* formed *ἐφῆσται γυναῖκα*, and carried them about in pomp. Now sure this is sufficient to justify the saying of *Theodoret*, that

¹ Τὰς δὲ τιμὰς ἔμνον καὶ πόλιν ἀπονέμουν τῷ Πειδῶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσερκίας — ἐν τε τῇ τηλαίᾳ μόνον τῇ Διονυσιακαίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις ἐτῶδες τυχερᾶς τιμῆς μὲν γέλωτος καὶ παιδίας παρῆσαν ἐν τῇ θυσίαις. Ibid. l. 4. p. 214.

^a Nat. Com. l. 5. c. 20. p. 721.

^o Τὸν κλίνα μὲν ἡ ἑλάνθις, ἡ φαλλασγία δὲ τῇ φαλλῶν, adv. Gr. p. 583.

^o L. 14. p. 647. A.

in these Solemnities, *πάν ἑὸς ἀκολαΐας ἀδ' εὖς ἐτολμάτο*, all kind of Impurity was freely tolerated, and the severe Censure in ^p Cicero, that by these practices they did not confirm but rather take away all Religion. To conclude, ^a Minutius Felix, and ^r Origen say of the Egyptians, that they worshipped a Fart.

§. VI. And, lastly, they used many Ceremonies which were exceedingly ridiculous, and such as no true Deity could be pleased with; among which we may reckon,

1st, The lamenting for those Gods which they adored; this was a part of that solemn Worship which they paid in Egypt to *Osiris* and *Adonis*, in which Myriads of them did at once lament their God, and

^p Utrum his confirmasse Religionem videtur, an penitus eam sustulisse? Omitto Eleusinam sanctam illam & augustam, ubi initiantur gentes orarum ultimæ, prætereo Samothraciam eaque quæ Lemni nocturno aditu occulta columnis Sylvestribus sepibus densa. De Nat. D. l. 1. n. 83.

^a Nec Serapidem magis quam Streptus per pudenda corporis expressos, contremiscunt, p. 32.

^r Καὶ ἔγω λέγω περὶ τὰς τῶν Σώματι φλυασίας ἐν ταῖς φειτόντων καὶ Αἰσχυρίων. Adv. Cell. l. 5. p. 255. Item habent Clem. Recogn. l. 5. & Hieron. in Isaiam, l. 6. 46. F. 151.

^p Τὰ ὄρσια εἰς Ἀδωνιν ἐπιγένοι καὶ εἰς μνήμην τοῦ θεοῦ τύπον καὶ θρηνέουσι, sunt autem qui dicunt τὰ ὄρσια καὶ εἰς Ἀδωνιν ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ Ὅσιον ταῦτα πρῆσεσθαι. L. de Dea Syria, p. 750 — 752.

beat one another; and, saith *Herodotus*, even cut themselves with Knives. The like Ceremonies were used in the *Eleusinia Sacra*, in the Solemnities of *Ceres*, they lamenting the Rape of *Proserpina*, whom *Pluto* had convey'd into the lower Regions; * her *Sacra* were the same with those of *Isis*, save only that they added to them * *obscene Words*, because they comforted the Goddess in her Sorrows; and in those of *Cybele* lamenting * *Attis* slain or emasculated, and in the Solemnities of *Bacchus* torn in pieces. Now the absurdity of this Worship, saith * *Plutarch*, *Xenophanes Colophonius* observed, and therefore said, εἰ μὲν θεοὶ εἰσὶ μὴ θρηνεῖτε αὐτοῖς, εἰ δ' ἄνθρωποι μὴ θρηνεῖ αὐτοῖς, if they be Gods do not lament them, if Men do not offer Sacrifice to them; and † he brings in *Lycurgus* admonishing the *Thebans*, in the like manner, if they esteemed them Gods, not to lament, or if they

* *Sacra vero Cereris Eleusinae non sunt his dissimilia, nam sicut ibi Osiris puer plancta matris inquitur, ita hic ad incestum Patris rapta Proserpina. Laet. l. 1. c. 21. p. 119.*

† *Mater magna instituit ut quotannis in Sacris ejus plangere, Attis. Serv. in Aen. 9.*

‡ *Εὐθὺς δ' ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύταις τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἰχερολοῖν διὰ τὸ τὴν θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ κόρης ἀρπαγῇ λυπέμενον γελᾶσαι διὰ τὴν αἰχερολογίαν. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. p. 298. A.*

§ *Lugete Attin, lugete Osirin, lugete Liberum, lugete Proserpinam, Adonis quasi maritus plangitur Veneris. Jul. Firmic. p. 14.*

¶ *De Superst. p. 171, Apoth. p. 228. D.*

‡ *De Is. & Osir. p. 379. B. La.*

thought they were only Men, not to worship them. Add to this,

2dly, Their absurd custome of worshipping their Gods by Imprecations and Reproaches, which both the *Fathers* and the *Heathen Writers* assure us was the custome, by which they paid their Devotions to *Hercules*, because when he had taken away the *Oxen of Theodomas*, and killed them, he cursed him when he was eating them, which *Execration*, saith *Philostratus*, pleased *Hercules*: And this *Athenaus* seems to hint, when he informs us, that at Athens no less than sixty *Railers* or *sawcy Jesters* resorted to his Temple.

Such, lastly, was that impious custome of threatening the Gods they worshipped; and this, saith *Plutarch*, is ἀλοώτερον the more absurd on this account, that it is used by mean Men, not only towards *Demons* and *Heroes*, but αὐτῶν ὃ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡλίου καὶ (ἡ) λυὴν ἢ τινὶ τῷ κατ' ἐργον, to the principal Gods the *Sun*, *Moon*, or any other of the celestial

* Ὡς καὶ μέχει τῶδε ἰσορῆσθαι τὸν Ἡρακλῆα Δαίμονα λαμβάνειν μὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων θυσίαν. Orig. adv. Cels. l. 7. p. 368. *Herculis sacra apud Lindum non euhymia sed maledictis & execratione celebrantur*, Laet. l. 1. c. 21. p. 122.

† Χαίρει ὃ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Λινδίοις δίδωσι καταρωμένους τὰς θάλασσας. Philostr. l. 2. Icon. in Theodomante.

‡ Παῖθῃ δ' ὡς Ἀθλίωσι γελοιοποιῶν ἐν γυν' Ἡρακλῆος σωτήριον ἐξήκοντα ὄντες τὸν αἰεθμόν. l. 14. p. 614. D.

Gods. And *Plutarch* having told us that the Works, Words and Motions of the Superstitious were ridiculous, that their Purgations were impure, and their Ceremonies of Cleansing were polluting, and their Punishments of themselves, and their Reproaches of the Gods, were wicked; ^a he adds, that *these things made some openly to say, it were better to affirm there were no Gods, than to think they could accept of, or delight in such Worship.* Thus have we seen that many of the wiser Heathens condemned, as Wickedness and Sacrilege, and little better than mere *Atheism*, that way of Worship which obtained so generally in the *Heathen World*.

§. VII. And yet as bad as they confessed this Worship was, it was established not only by the Laws of those Nations where it obtained, and confirmed by their Oracles, but also by the Suffrage of those *Philosophers* who saw the vileness and the folly of it. For,

157, They lay it down as a most certain Rule, that every Nation was to worship the Gods according to the Laws, Rites and Customs of their Country. Thus *Pythagoras*

^a Ταῦτα δίδωσιν ἐνίοις λέγειν ὡς μὴ εἶναι θεοὺς ἀμείνον ἢ τοιαῦτα μὲν δεχομένους τοιούτοις ὃ χαίροντας. De Superst., p. 171, B.

begins his Golden Verses with advice to all to worship the immortal Gods, νόμῳ ὡς δεῖ καί, *as the Law requires*; which tho' Hierocles refers to the eternal Law of God, yet his own * Scholars held it respected the Law and Customs of their Country, *tho' they were worse than those of others*. Socrates being asked, whether Men might worship the Gods as they thought good, answered, οὐκ, ἀλλὰ νόμοι εἰσὶ καθ' ὧν δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, *no, but this is to be done according to the Laws*. Plato commands all Men, δεῖν πάντας αἰεὶ δεῖν καὶ νόμους, *always to worship the Gods according to the Laws*, and will permit no Man θεοπολεῖν *to introduce new Gods*, or sacred Rites pronouncing them wicked who blame or recede from the Rites of their own Country. † Aristotle saith, ὅτι τὰ πάτρια ἔθνη ἀδικαίουν πάντα ἀδίκον ὅτι *that all Men counted it unjust to transgress the Laws of their Country in these matters* and Cicero says that their Laws required that Religion should be observed according to the Rites of their Country; and ‡ Epictetus gives it as a Rule, *that it became*

* Τὸ μέν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔθεσι τὰ καὶ νομίμοις ἔδοξε μαζόν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκείνοι καὶ ἢ μικρῶν χείρων ἐτέρων. Iamblicus de Vita Pythag. c. 30. p. 156.

† Rhet. ad Alex. c. 3.

‡ Στένδειν ἢ καὶ θύειν καὶ ἀπαρχαῖς καὶ τὰ πάτρια ἐκτελεῖν ἐκείνοις προσήκει. Enchir. c. 38.

all to offer Sacrifice, and bring their First-fruits every where according to the custome of the Country. Porphyry commends that Rule of ^a Hesiod, that every Man should sacrifice after the manner anciently observed in his City, as spoken εἰκότως very fitly, and saith it was the Law of Draco, that the Gods and Heroes should be worshipped, ἰπομύως νόμοις παλαιοῖς, after the Law of their Country; and even ^b Plutarch, after all his complaints of the prevalence of Superstition every where, and of the paucity of them who knew how to worship the Gods aright, tells the Stoicks, they should have left the notions of the Gods, ὡς ἔχουσιν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἕκαστοι καὶ συνηθείας πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, as every one hath received them by Law or Custome; whereas they had made it their business, κινεῖν τὰ πάτρια τὰ πρὸς θεῶν δόξας, to shake those opinions concerning the Gods which all Nations had received; and which, saith ^c Cicero, all Men conceive they ought to retain. And,

2dly, The great pretence to establish this Opinion, was, that they thought it reasona-

^a Ὡς κε πόλις ἐζήσῃ, νόμος δ' ἀρχαῖος αἰεὶς.

^b De abst. l. 2. §. 18. l. 4. §. 22.

^c Adv. Stoicos, p. 1074. E.

^d Omnes enim Religione moventur & Deos patrios sibi retinendos esse arbitrantur. Orat. 5. in Verrem.

to be ⁿ guided by their Oracles touching the Gods they were to worship, and the Rites with which they were to worship them; and by these Oracles they confirmed their Sentiment. Thus Socrates is introduced by ⁿ Xenophon, declaring that the Gods were thus to be worshipped, θεῶς γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεός, for you see that the Oracle at Delphos, when any one enquires how he should acceptably serve the Gods, answers, νόμον πόλεως, after the Law of the City. Cicero informs us that when the Athenians consulted the Pythian Apollo, quas potissimum Religiones tenerent, what Religion they should observe, the Oracle answered, eas quæ essent in more majorum, that of their Ancestors; And ^p Aristotle saith, ὅτι τὰ μαντεῖα πάντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ νοῦν ποιεῖται τὰς θύρας, that all the Oracles required Men to offer their Sacrifices according to the Laws of the Country. They were received, saith ^a Plato, ἐκ Δελφῶν ἢ Δωδωνῆς, ἢ παρ' Ἀμμωνίου ἢ ἐκ παλαιῶν λόγων, from Apollo at Delphi, or from Jupiter at Dodona or Hammon, or from Tradition; and therefore he declares, that they who would not submit to them, ought δίκας ἀσεβείας

^m Ἐκ Δελφῶν ἢ κατὰ νόμον περὶ τὰ θεῖα κομισαμένης τῆς τοῖς χερσίν. Plato de leg. l. 6. p. 860. D.

ⁿ Memorab. l. 1. p. 570.

^p Rhetor. ad Alex. c. 3.

l. 7. p. 886. F.

^o De leg. l. 2. n. 38.

^a De leg. l. 5. p. 846. C.

παρεχέν, to be punished for their Impiety; and that a wise Lawgiver, * μὴ τολμήσῃ καινοποιεῖν ἐν θεοσεβείᾳ, should permit no Man to innovate in these matters, * they being received from the Children of the Gods, who knew well their Progenitors, and therefore were to be believed, tho' they gave no reason for what they said, nor was any Man's reason to be heard against them. And therefore, tho' the Athenians were afterwards noted for admitting new Gods, yet they * condemned Socrates for introducing καινὰ δαιμόνια, new Deities, and not thinking those to be Gods which the City own'd as such, and made the Ephesians swear, * ἱερεῖ τὰ πάτρια τιμᾶν, to honour the Gods of the Country. And tho' the Romans, as many of the Fathers have observed, introduced into their Worship most of the Gods that they had conquer'd, yet this was still done by the consent of the Senate, the Law of the twelve Tables being this, * *separatim nemo Deos habebit neque*

* Epin. p. 1011. C.

* Ἀδωιάστον ἐν θεῶν παῖσιν ἀπιστεῖν καί πρ' ἀνδρ' ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναγκάων ἐπιδείξεων λίσσασθαι, in Tim. p. 1053. E.
A Philosopho rationem accipere debeo, Religionis majoribus autem nostris etiam nulla ratione reddita credere, Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. n. 3—6. Mihi unum satis est ita nobis majores tradidisse, nec me ab ea opinione quam à majoribus accepi de calculu Deorum ullius unquam oratio aut docti aut indocti movebit. Ibid. * Diog. Laert. l. 2. p. 10. * Stob. Sermon. 41. p. 243. * Cic. de leg. l. 2. n. 16.

novos, that no Man should have private or new Gods, because, saith * *Cicero*, *Deos aut novos aut alienigenas coli confusionem habet Religionis*, the worship of new or strange Gods would introduce Confusion in Religion.

§. VIII. And thus are all these ignoble *Deities*, as *Seneca* stiles them, and all these barbarous, obscene, ridiculous, and cruel Rites made like the Laws of *Medes* and *Persians*, or in the Words of *Draco*, *ἑστιάσας αἰωνία*, *eternal Decrees*, by *Lawgivers*, *Philosophers*, and by the *Oracles* themselves; no alteration of the worst of them being allowed by any of them, tho of most of them we have heard their judgment, that they were Rites of Worship which tended to *extirpate all Religion*, and to make wise Men think it better to own no Gods at all, than to worship them in such a barbarous and vile manner, and know of all them, that they only did dissemble in the worship of them, *ὡς περὶ φερόμενοι τοῖς πολλοῖς*, to please the multitude, as *Origen* objects against the *Peripateticks* and *Epicureans*, and as we know they must do, according to their own avowed Sentiments: For, how could *Aristotle* and his *Peripateticks* receive these

* Ibid. n. 27.

Gods and Rites of Worship on the account of Oracles and Divinations, when they declared that these Oracles had nothing of truth in them, and that these Divinations were unprofitable? Or, how could the Epicureans comply with the common practice in sincerity, or without superstition and impiety, and yet believe with their Master, as by many passages of Velleius we see they did, that he was ἀσεβής, *ungodly*, not who removed the opinions of many from the Gods, but he who ascribed them to them; or, not who took away the Gods of the Multitudes, but they who thought such Beings could be Gods? Whence Origen represents both these Sects as Dissemblers in Religion; and against Socrates and the Platonists he objects, that after all the high Flights of the τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν *first cause*, they ἐυτελῆ καὶ μικρὰ φερονεῖν, *submitted to mean and base things*, going down to Pyreum to worship Diana, and offering a Cock to Æsculapius, which things no Allegories can justify from Superstition, and a plain tendency to con-

† Aristoteles & omnes deinceps Peripatetici τὰ βρώματα χρησιμεία καὶ τὰ ὄντα πᾶσι μετὰ διακρίσει μαλίστα εἰδέν φέρον ἀληθὲς ἀπὸ λείξαν, ἀνωφελεὴν τὴν ἐν ἀπεφάναντο καὶ μάλλον ὀπτασθῆναι τυγχάνειν. Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 4. c. 2. p. 136. A.

‡ Οὐχ' ὁ πᾶσι πολλῶν θεῶν ἀναγνῶν ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς πολλῶν ὁξας τοῖς θεοῖς προσάπλων. ap. Diog. Laert. l. 10. p. 655.

⁴ Adv. Cels. l. 7. p. 375.

⁵ L. 6. p. 277.

firm others in it. ^c Seneca speaks thus of the Stoicks, and their Wise-man, that he will worship that fardle of ignoble Deities which long Superstition for many Ages had introduced, as remembering that they were rather to be worshipped out of custom, than reality, not as things pleasing to the Gods, but only as required by the Laws; whence St. Austin truly saith of him, *colebat quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat, adorabat*, he worshipped that which he blamed and argued against as unfit to be worshipped: And of Cicero, ^d Lactantius makes this observation, that he well understood they were false Gods which Men worshipped, and he had said many things sufficient, *ad eversionem Religionum*, to overthrow the received Religions, (as he that reads him cannot doubt) and yet not only suffer'd Men to go on in their false Religions, but himself erred with them. In a word, how fiercely do ^e Plato and ^f Plutarch inveigh against the Gods the Poets had introduced, and their Fables? And yet

^c Omnem istam ignobilem Deorum turbam quam longo zvo longa Superstitio congeffit sic adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum eum magis ad morem quam ad rem pertinere, hæc omnia sapiens observabit tanquam legibus iussa, non tanquam Diis grata, apud Aug. de C. D. l. 6. c. 10.

^d L. 2. c. 3. p. 148.

^e Plato in 10. p. 364. E. De Repub. l. 2. p. 396. D.

^f Plutarch. Amal. p. 736. C.

these, saith Plato, are ἑρμηνεῖς τῶν θεῶν, the Interpreters of the Gods; these are the θεῶν παῖδες, those Children of the Gods who must be believed without Reason; and from these, say they both, we have all our knowledge of the Being and Providence of the Gods; so truly, saith ^a Lactantius, that these wise and learned Men did persist wickedly in that Religion, of the vanity of which they were convinced: That of ^b Origen being a certain truth, that a truly pious Soul can admit of nothing which is adulterate, false, or hypocritical in the service of God, and much less can he act thus through the whole tenor of his life: As will be still more manifest from the consideration of their received Maxims, touching the Nature and Worship of the Deity, they being such as these, viz.

1st, That if they who were called Gods commanded any thing which was wicked, cruel or impure, that was a demonstration that they were no Gods. And upon this account, saith ^c Plato, the Gods introduced by the Poets were to be discarded, and

^a Videmus etiam doctos & sapientes Viros cum Religionum intelligent vanitatem, nihilominus tamen in iis ipsis quæ damnant colendis nescio quâ pravitate perstare.

^b Οὐδὲν γὰρ νόθον καὶ ἐνυπαίχειν τῇ ψυχῇ τῷ ἀληθῶς ἑστὶν τῷ θεῷ εὐσεβεῖς. Adv. Cels. l. 7. p. 375.

^c Εἰ θεοὶ τὸ δρῶσιν αἰσέον, ἃ εἰσὶ θεῶν. Eurip.

^d Plato de Rep. l. 2. p. 604.

the Youth must not be suffer'd to read them, because they speak hard Words, and told the greatest Lyes, τοῖς τ' μεγίστων, *ascribing to the Gods things most unworthy of them.* And because the Lyes they mix'd with their Narrations of them, saith ¹ *Plutarch*, were as bad as Poison mixed with our Meal; whence even *Cotta* saith, that *Cupid and Venus cannot be Gods, they being* ^m *vocabula vitiosarum rerum neque naturalium, the Names not of things natural, but vitious; tho' nothing was more worshipped than they were.*

2dly. The second Aphorism they founded upon the natural Idea of a Deity, or of the best of Beings, was this, that *the best Worship we could perform to him, was to* ⁿ *imitate, and to be like him;* whereas 'twas evidently the vilest and absurdest thing that we could do, to be like those barbarous and filthy Deities.

3dly, That God was to be worshipped suitably to his Nature and his Attributes; and when Men worshipped him otherwise, they fell into such absurd and superstitious ways of Worship, as were more ^o *dishonourable*

¹ De Aud. Poet. p. 17.

^m De Nat. Deor. l. 2. n. 45.

ⁿ Ὡς γὰρ φησὶν οἱ πυθαγόρειοι τιμήσεις τ' θεὸν ἀειδὲς ἐὰν τῷ θεῷ τ' διάνοιαν ὁμοιώσης. Hierocl. in Pyth. Carm. p. 22.

^o Plutarch, de Superst. p. 170, 171. Adv. Epicur. p. 1101, 1102.

le to the Deity than even the neglect of his
Worship: Now that to worship him with
these barbarous, filthy, and ridiculous
rites of Worship before-mention'd, was
worse than not to worship him at all, they
have themselves declared.

ably, They laid it truly down as a most
certain truth, that only pure, holy, and
righteous Persons could have communion with
God, or any expectation of his ^p favour and
affection, and that he rather must be inclined
to be an Adversary to, and punish those who
were otherwise, and that without this purity
and sincerity of Heart, all their Performances
were little worth: And yet, what Purity
could be in those who worshipp'd him in
his obscene and filthy manner? Whence
Plato confesseth that their Priests, by
whom, saith he, all Men must be governed
in these matters, taught the contrary.

Lastly, They truly added that our reli-
gious Deportment towards the true God,

τῷ δὲ θεῷ φιλοῦν — πάντα γίνεσθαι ὡς οἶόν τε δεῖν, καὶ
ἀδικεῖν τὰναντία τούτων δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι. Plat. de Republ.
p. 760. D. Pythag. apud Iambl. p. 89. Stob. Eclog. Eth.
180. μὴ καθαρόν γὰρ καθαρόν ἐφαπτεσθαι μὴ ἔτι δεμίον ἦ.
p. 4. καὶ γὰρ ἂν δεῖν εἴη εἰ πρὸς τὰ δῶρα καὶ τὰς θυ-
ῶν ἀπαιτήσεις ἡμῶν οἱ θεοὶ ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ψυχῇ
τῆς ὁσιότητος καὶ δίκαιότητος ὧν τυγχάνει, Plato Alcib. p. 459.
leg. l. 4. p. 842. C. l. 10. 945. B.
θεῶν παῖδες ποιηταὶ καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν θεῶν ἡρώδου
ταῦτάς τας ἔχον μινύεσθαι. Plato de Rep. l. 2. p. 526. E. &
895. D. E.

or those who truly did deserve that Title, was a part of natural Justice, and that in this consisted all Piety and Holiness; whereas 'tis certain that it can be no part either of Piety or Holiness to commit Murther to destroy our own Off-spring, or to be guilty of Fornication, Adultery and Sodomy, in honour of the Gods we worship.

§. VIII. Let it then be consider'd,

1st, That whereas the religious Worship required by the Law of Moses was costly and expensive, ritual and ceremonial, consisting, saith the Apostle, in carnal Ordinances, which did chiefly employ the Body, and was confined to one place, and therefore though it was well accommodated to the Temper of that People, yet was not suitable to the Nature of the Deity, our Lord intimates, by saying, *The time coming when the true Worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit; for God is a Spirit and they that worship him must do it in Spirit and in Truth*: The Worship which our Saviour introduced, was so far from requiring those humane Sacrifices which had

¹ Εὐσέβεια ἢ μέγας φόρος καὶ διακονίαις ἢ ἁγνότητι. Stob. Sermon. 9. de just. p. 125. Eclog. Eth. p. 1. Est enim pietas justitia adversus Deos, Cic. de Nat. D. 1. 1. n. 81.

long and so generally obtained among the *Heathens*, and by the wisest of them were accounted Sacrilege, and worse than *Atheism*, that it entirely abolished all carnal Sacrifices, and taught us to serve God in newness of Spirit, and to offer him the spiritual Sacrifices of Prayers and Thanksgivings, and to present our selves to him a living Sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, and so a Sacrifice not of unreasonable Beasts, but of our *rational Faculties*, and therefore suitable to the Frame and Reason of Mankind.

2dly, Whereas the religious Ceremonies which obtained in the Solemnities of the *Heathens*, were so vile and filthy, that the wise *Heathens* required chaste Women to abstain from them, and *Cicero* pronounces that they tended not to confirm, but to abolish all Religion; the *Jewish* Institutions would not permit the hire of a Whore to be offered to God; and the *Christian* not only doth pronounce Damnation to all that exercise these wicked Practices, but doth require of all who come to God the greatest purity in Heart and Life, in Body and Soul, and the greatest care to keep *their Vessels* in sanctification and honour, and to cleanse themselves from all filthiness of *Flesh and Spirit*, perfecting holiness in the fear of God, as knowing that without Sanctification no Man shall see the Lord.

And, lastly, whereas the Religion of the *Heathens* had introduced so many ridiculous Ceremonies into their Worship, and even the *Jewish* Religion so much abounded in those ritual Prescriptions which were only good because commanded, and was clogg'd also by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* with a vast number of vain, cumbersome, fruitless, and superstitious Traditions, tending to make void the Commandment of God ; The *Christian* Institution requires but two positive Rites, that of *Baptism* and the *Lord's-Supper* ; both which are grave and solemn ; consisting in a dedication of ourselves to the service of the Deity, and in a grateful commemoration of the Blessing conferr'd upon us by our blessed Lord, and so engaging us to the strictest Piety, and to the exercise of all *Christian* Virtues, and therefore must be worthy of a good and holy God : So great and visible are the advantages of the spiritual Worship of the *Christians* above all that before ever obtained in the World, and so apparent is the necessity of such a change as it hath introduced not only in the Object, but also in the Manner of the Worship fit to be paid to the Deity ; whereas you see the Worship which was before generally received by the *Heathens*, as it was inconsistent with all true Reverence of God, so was an abomination in the sight of God, as be-

ing wholly opposite both to his holy Nature, and his Will, and employ'd chiefly in those Practices to which he threatneth Damnation, and which render Men incapable of paying any acceptable service to him, or of holding communion with him, yea such as the very *Heathens*, by the Light of Nature, pronounced Sacrilegious, destructive of all true Religion, and even worse than none at all; so that if an abolition or entire reformation of it could be ever needful, it must be then when those things which were intended to atone and please, became the highest Provocation and the most vile Affront that could be offer'd to the Deity, and which their Wisemen, as they confess'd them to be the product of a long Superstition, so they complied with them only in Hypocrisie, and practis'd them, *non tanquam Diis grata*, not as pleasing to the Gods, but only as required by the Laws.

C H A P. VIII.

The C O N T E N T S.

*Two Principles of some Philosophers destroyed
all Virtue and Morality; 1st, That there
was nothing naturally Good or Evil;
R 3 2dly,*

2dly, That there was no certainty to be had of what was so, §. 1. They generally transgressed the sixth Commandment by innumerable murders in their Gladiatory Plays, by procuring the abortion of their Children, and by exposing them when born, by practising and allowing Self-murder, and by their hatred of other Nations, §. 2. The seventh, by that Fornication which generally obtain'd amongst them, by frequent Adulteries, incestuous Copulations, and by Sodomy and Drunkenness: These Vices were allowed and practised by most of their Philosophers, and used in their sacred Rites, §. 3. The eighth, by Theft, accounted among many Nations rather glorious than criminal, §. 4. The ninth, by Lying, which the Philosophers held lawful when it was profitable for them, §. 5. The excellent Prescriptions of Christianity against all these Sins, §. 6.

HAVING thus shew'd how much the Sentiments which had obtain'd among the Heathens tended to the corruption of true Piety, and to subvert that Duty which we owe to God; I proceed now to shew that they also had entertain'd such Sentiments and Doctrines which plainly tended to evert all Virtue and Charity, and all those other Offices we owe both to our Selves and our Brother. Now this the

did both by some general Doctrines, which took away all our obligations to the performance of those Duties, and by such Sentiments as are directly opposite to those Commandments which comprehend the Duties of the second Table. The Doctrines which destroy'd all the Offices of Virtue, Justice and Charity, were,

§. I. 1st, That Assertion which maintains that 'there is nothing unjust, filthy, or evil in its own Nature, but only by virtue of the Laws which have obtained among Men. This was the Doctrine of Archelaus, and of Aristippus, and was maintained by Pyrrho, and the whole Herd of Scepticks, and of Academicks; and among the Axioms of Epicurus, these are two, that *Injustice is not evil in it self*, and that *Justice is nothing in it self*; and agreeable to this Aristippus openly declares, that 'tis lawful to commit Theft, Adultery, and Sacrilege in season, none of these things being by nature evil. And indeed, according to this

Τὸ δίκαιον ἢ καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἐ φύσι ἀλλὰ νόμῳ, D. Lact., 2. p. 89, p. 134. Ακ. 36. ἐκ αὐτῶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ δίκαιοσιν. Ακ. 37. ἢ ἀδίκια ἐ καθ' ἑαυτῶ κακόν. Diog. Lact. l. 10, p. 671, illic dissentiamus ab Epicuro ubi dicit nihil justum esse natura, Sen. Ep. 97. p. 609.

Κλέψαν τε καὶ μοιχάσαν ἱεροσυλάσαν ἐν καιρῷ, μηδὲν ἢ τῶν αἰσχρῶν φύσι, De Lact. l. 2, p. 138.

Doctrine, not only Vice and Virtue must be empty Names; and God must be neither concerned to prescribe the one, nor to discourage, or forbid the other, but humane Laws must lose their force and virtue; for either we are obliged from natural Principles to obey them, or we are not; if we are, it must be just and equitable so to do by virtue of some Law of Nature; but if we are not thus obliged to obey them, we must be free to violate them, and so can have no tye upon our Conscience to observe them. And therefore "Cicero well notes, that according to this Doctrine, an injurious Person may be called incautious, if he be not careful to avoid the lash of the Law, but he can never be esteemed unjust.

2dly, It always was the Doctrine not only of the Scepticks and the Academicks, but of many others, that there was no certainty to be had of what was good or evil, their enquiry being this, "*quid habemus in rebus bonis aut malis explorati*, what assurance have we of what is good or evil, there being no agreement, saith Catulus in Cicero, among Philosophers about that end

* Quod si poena, si metus supplicii, non ipsa turpitudine deterret ab injuriosa facinorosaque vita, nemo est injustus, at incauti potius habendi sunt improbi.

* Cat. apud Cic. Acad. qu. l. 2. n. 120.

to which all other Actions are to tend? There is no concord, saith Maximus Tyrinus, about what is good or evil, filthy or decorous, about Laws, and Right, but so great clashing about them, that neither Nation, nor City, nor Family, nor single Men, accord with one another in these things. Now 'tis evident to all Mens Reason and Experience, that the uncertainty that what we do is good or evil, fit or unfit to be done, tends plainly to weaken our inclinations to, and prosecutions of that Good, and to lessen our care and industry to avoid what is Evil.

§. II. To proceed to the particular Precepts of the second Table: Whereas the Son of Man came not to destroy Mens temporal lives, but to save them, and his Laws rank Murther among those fleshy Lusts which will exclude us from his Kingdom, and say expressly, that no Murtherer hath eternal Life abiding in him.

1st. It was a pleasure to the Heathens to see Men murther one another; for in their Gladiatory Plays, as they thought fit to stile them, *homo occiditur in hominis voluptatem*, one Man is slain for the pleasure of another, saith Tertullian. These Sports or

Οὐ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσιν ἔστι καὶ τὸ κακὸν ὁμοίαν, ἔστι τὸ καλὸν ἔστι τὸ καλόν. Diff. 1. p. 4.

! Luke 9. 56. Gal. 5. 21. Apoc. 21. 8. 1 John 3. 15.

Exercises,

Exercises, as they had their original from the Funerals of Great-men, (who being by the *Heathen Theology* made *Heroes*, were to be satisfied with humane Blood) so were they, saith *Lipsius*, the *Pests* and *Funerals* of Mankind; for no War ever caused such a slaughter of Mankind as did these *Sports of Pleasure*, which were performed not only by *Slaves* and *Captives* bred up to that *Art of shedding humane Blood*, but also by *Freemen*, who suffered themselves to be hired out to this *Work*, and upon that account were called *auſtorati*, *Hirelings*; they were exhibited by *Noblemen*, *Knights* and *Senators*, and by all sorts of *Governors*, *Emperors*, *Consuls*, *Prators*, *Priests*, *Questors*, *Aerarii* and *Aediles*, and obtain'd throughout the *Roman Provinces*, *Colonies*, and *Municipal Towns*. And yet this *Butchery* is frequently condemned by *Seneca*, as a thing contrary to humane Laws which punish *Murther* with *Death*, and to the dignity of a Man, who is a sacred thing, and

* Credo immo ſcio nullum bellum tantam Cladem uſſit-
emque generi humano pertuliſſe quam hos ad voluptatem
ludos. Saturn. l. 1. c. 12.

* Lipſ. ib. l. 2. c. 3. l. 2. c. 9. c. 10.

* Ab his ſpectaculis crudelior redeo, & inhumanior, occi-
dit aliquis hominem, qui occidit ille meruit ut hoc pateretur,
tu quid meruiſti miſer, ut hoc ſpectes? Ep. 7. p. 394. Tan-
tum aberat ut homo hominem non iratus tantum ſpectaturus
occideret, Ep. 90. p. 481. Homo, ſacra res, homo jam per-
luſum & jocum occiditur, Ep. 95. p. 602.

not to be destroy'd for sport and meriment; much less to be destroy'd in cold Blood, without anger or provocation; to behold these things, saith he, renders a Man more cruel and inhumane than he was before; and tis by Cicero stiled, *Spectaculum crudele & inhumanum*, a cruel and inhumane Spectacle.

And yet it is not to be wondred that they should thus delight in seeing Persons slain by one anothers Hands, who were unnatural to their own Off-spring, either destroying them in the Womb by their *αὐτοκατοχοῦς φάρμακα*, Medicaments to procure Abortion, or exposing them as soon as they were born to Beasts, or leaving them to perish by cold and hunger. The Spartans had a Law, commanding them *μὴδ' ἐνὶ σπέρειν ἀνατρέφειν*, to breed up no Children that were maimed; and they had a Committee on purpose to examine whether the Child born was *εὐπαγὴς ἢ ῥαυμαῖον* sound and strong, and consequently whether it should be educated or exposed; and they had a peculiar place, called *Taygetus*, where they did expose them.

The Romans did also approve this practice of exposing their Children, especially

* Tusc. qu. l. 2. n. 36.

^d Stob. Ecl. Eth. p. 197.

* Multos patres exponere solitos inutiles partus, aliqua parte corporis mutilatos, infirmos, & in nullam spem idoneos. Sen. contr. l. 5. contr. 33.

when

when they were spurious, maimed, or infirm, or when their Parents were not able to maintain them: Whence Gallio pleads thus for them who debilitated exposed Children, that they might be more fit to beg, and be the greater Objects of Compassion, that this would be for the advantage of the Commonwealth, because, saith he, *pauciores erunt qui exponent filios*, this will restrain Men from the practice of exposing them. And that which made this unnatural Custom so freely to obtain throughout Greece, might be the countenance it had not only from the Laws of *Lycurgus*, but also from those two great Philosophers and Politicians, *Plato* and *Aristotle*; for among the Laws of *Plato* this is one, that after Men and Women have passed the Age of getting and conceiving strong Children, they may promiscuously enjoy one another, provided they take care, *μη εἰς Φῶς ἐκπέσῃν νόμιμα*, not to let their Off-spring come to light, or if it do, *ἐκλίθῃ*, to expose it without Nourishment. *Aristotle*, in his *Politicks*, prescribes this Law concerning the exposing or breeding up of Children, *μηδὲν τῶν ἐκ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποτρεχόντων ἐκτρέφειν*, to breed up none that are maimed; but if the Laws of any Nation, saith he, forbid the exposing of Children, *ἢ τῶν αὐθιγῶν ἐκτρέφειν*

Plato de Rep. l. 5. p. 657. E. F.

Polit. l. 7. c. 16.

ζωὴν ἐμποιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἀμελῶς, care must be taken to procure their abortion before they have sense, or life, viz. the abortion of the Offspring of very old or very young People. *Ælian* indeed informs us, that there was a Law among the *Thebans* in *Africa* ^h φιλανθρώπως κείμην, agreeable to humanity, forbidding Parents to expose their Children under pain of death; but speaking of this as a thing singular in them, he intimates, that this practice was either allowed or connived at by most other Nations. And yet it cannot reasonably be denied that this was an inhumane and unnatural murder of poor Innocents, by exposing their own Bowels to Dogs, or to wild Beasts, and so, as ⁱ *Lactantius* says, was *maxima impietas*, a great Impiety against that God who gave them life.

3dly, They were unnatural to themselves, it being frequent with them to cut off their own lives, and to maintain that it was lawful and sometimes the Wise-man's duty so to do; whence this Self-murder was by them stiled ἀλογὸν ἔξαγωγήν, an exit suitable to Reason; and God is said, when life became troublesome, to open ^{δύειν} ^{ἔξωθεν} a door for them to go out at. This

^h Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 7.

ⁱ L. 6. c. 20. p. 619.

was the Doctrine of all the ¹Stoicks, from their Master Zeno to Epictetus and Arrian. Their Wise-man, say they, doubts not but he may sometimes do this, and then, say they, he doth it *εὐλόγως* suitably to Reason; when he lies under a tormenting Pain or an incurable Disease, when many things molest his Life, or when he only seems to suspect Fortune, he may then, say they, open the gate to give life an exit. This is ¹Seneca's great Apology for Providence which suffers evil things to befall good Men, because, saith he, it permits him to rescue himself from them by death; this he extravagantly magnifies in Cato, saying, *Liquet mihi cum magno spectasse gaudio Deos*, I am confident the Gods beheld him with great joy stabbing himself: They held indeed that a Fool, that is a wicked Person, might not do this, because he was not fit to die; but they declared, ^m (κοφοῖς δ' ἄλογον ἔξαλωσιν ἑ), that it was reasonable for their Wise-man, as being perfect, thus to destroy himself.

The Epicureans held the same Doctrine, declaring that if Grief were tolerable it was

¹ Zeno apud Diog. Laert. l. 7. p. 447. Cat. ap. Cicer. de fin. l. 3. n. 47, 48. Sen. Ep. 12, 17, 20, 26, 58, 70. Anton. l. 3. §. 1. l. 5. §. 29. l. 8. §. 47. Arrian. in Epict. l. 1. c. 9. p. 109. l. 2. c. 1. p. 170. l. 3. c. 8. p. 281. & c. 24. p. 342.

¹ De Provid. c. 2. 6.

^m Stob. Eclog. Eth. p. 187. Cic. de fin. l. 3. n. 48.

to be endured, *“sin minus a quo animo è vita, cum ea non placeat, tanquam è Theatro exeuimus,* if it were not, they were permitted to dispatch themselves when life became unpleasant to them. Plotinus the Platonist^a writ a Book, *ὅτι εὐλόγῃς ἑαυτῶν,* of lawful Self-murder; and Hegesias was stiled *πεισθάνων,* a persuader of Men to die, because he writ a Book, saith^b Cicero, stiled *Ἀποκατεργόν,* in which he aggravated the evils of this present life; and it is truly said by M. Casaubon from^c Laertius, that most of the Philosophers practised what these Sects allow'd; Zeno and Cato, two great Assertors of this Doctrine, did it; the first *ἀποπνίξας ἑαυτὸν* choking himself when he had broken his Finger; and the second killing himself when Caesar had overcome Pompey. Pythagoras is said to forbid Men to depart this life, *injussu Imperatoris,* without the command of God, and yet^d Diog. Laertius informs us that he starved himself, by abstaining from Meat forty Days; so also did^e Cleanthes the Follower of Zeno; Metrocles choked, and Menippus hanged himself; and^f Aristotle killed himself with Poison.

^a Torquat. apud Cicer. de fin. l. 1. n. 39.

^b Valer. m. l. 8. c. 9. D. Laert. l. 2. p. 129.

^c Cicer. Tusc. qu. 1. n. 68.

^d D. Laert. l. 7. p. 382.

^e Cic. de Senect. n. 66.

^f L. 8. p. 520, 521. ^g L. 7. p. 476. ^h L. 6. p. 361, 364.

ⁱ L. 5. p. 272.

In a word, the * *Roman* Laws were so favourable to them who died through impatience, vain-glory, or weariness of living any longer, that they pronounced their Wills valid; and yet *Pythagoras* saw by the Light of Nature, that it was unlawful, ¹ *injussu Imperatoris, i. e. Dei, de presidio & statione vitæ decedere*, to quit this life without the command of God. *Socrates* in ² *Plato* confesses that this was ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ὁ λόγος, a secret saying, that we are placed here upon our watch, καὶ εἰ δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐν ταύτῃ λυεῖν, from which no Man ought to dismiss himself; and ³ *Aristotle* adds, that ἀποθνῆσκειν φάσις οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνδρείου, to die to avoid what is cause of sadness, is the property not of a valiant, but a timorous Man; and if Parricide is by so much the more heinous as he is nearer to us in Blood or Affinity who is slain, it must be still more heinous to be *Felo de se*.

Moreover the Self-murderer accuses the Providence of God, as being cruel in imposing burthens on him which it will not enable him to bear; he shews his want of Trust in God, and of that Patience which should have its perfect work in us; he usurps upon the Right of God, who, as

* Si quis tædio vitæ, aut valetudinis adversæ impatientia, aut jactatione, ut quidam Philosophi, mortem sibi consciverunt, in ea causa sunt, ut eorum testamenta valeant. Ulpian.

¹ Cato de Senect. n. 66.

² Phædr. p. 47. C.

³ Eth. l. 3. c. 11.

he gave, so can he only take away our life; he acts, saith *Alexander Aphrodisiensis*, in contradiction to the great Principle of the *Stoicks*, that their Wise-man is always happy, even as happy as the Gods themselves, and that his Virtue is sufficient of it self to make him so; for sure it must be folly to deprive himself of so great happiness. And lastly, according to the ^b Principles of *Christianity*, he only labours to avoid a temporal Evil, by falling into that which is eternal. Add to this, what hath been observ'd already, that this Homicide obtain'd among them as part of divine Worship, and was stiled by them *præstantissimum Sacrificium*, the most excellent Sacrifice; so that in many Nations, he that killed his Fellow-man to serve his Maker, and he who sacrificed his Sons and Daughters to the Gods, did that which alone could appease their Rage. But I shall only hence observe how much such cruel Gods and such inhumane ways of Worship tended to countenance these Murthers and these unnatural Barbarities towards their Children, seeing by doing them they only seemed to imitate the Gods, and had the plea of *Aristippus* to excuse their Wickedness, that if these things were evil they would not be done

^b Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. i. c. 25.

he gave, so can he only take away our life; he acts, saith *Alexander Aphrodisiensis*, in contradiction to the great Principle of the *Stoicks*, that their Wise-man is always happy, even as happy as the Gods themselves, and that his Virtue is sufficient of it self to make him so; for sure it must be folly to deprive himself of so great happiness. And lastly, according to the ^b Principles of *Christianity*, he only labours to avoid a temporal Evil, by falling into that which is eternal. Add to this, what hath been observ'd already, that this Homicide obtain'd among them as part of divine Worship, and was stiled by them *præstantissimum Sacrificium*, the most excellent Sacrifice; so that in many Nations, he that killed his Fellow-man to serve his Maker, and he who sacrificed his Sons and Daughters to the Gods, did that which alone could appease their Rage. But I shall only hence observe how much such cruel Gods and such inhumane ways of Worship tended to countenance these Murthers and these unnatural Barbarities towards their Children, seeing by doing them they only seemed to imitate the Gods, and had the plea of *Aristippus* to excuse their Wickedness, that if these things were evil they would not be done

^b Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 1. c. 25.

in the Solemnities of the Gods. And sure we are, this was the rise of their *Gladiations* at the Funerals of Great-men, they thinking this a proper way to appease or gratifie the Ghosts of their departed *Heroes*, as *Lipsius* from *Tertullian*, and *Servius* hath observed.

Again; Whereas according to the ^d Christian Law, *he that hateth his Brother is a murtherer, and he that is angry with him without cause*, offends against that Law which saith, *Thou shalt not kill*; whereas the positive part of that Commandment requires that *Charity which envyeth not*, that freedom from Revenge which will not suffer us to *render evil for evil*; among the *Jews*, a Brother or a Neighbour was confined to one of their own Nation, for whom, saith *Tacitus*, they had the greatest kindness, *sed adversus omnes alios hostilium odium*, but against all others the hatred of an Enemy, being unwilling to converse with them, or shew them any common kindness, as *Juvenal* hath observ'd of them. And this ill-nature seems to have propagated it self among the *Heathens*, for, as the *Apostle* saith, they were *full of malice, envy and contention*, that they were *hateful to, and hated one another*, Rom. 1. 29. Tit. 3. 2,

^c Saturnalia, l. 1. c. 8. ^d 1 Joh. 3. 15. Mat. 5. 22.

^e Non monstrare viam eadem nisi sacra colenti;
Quæritum ad fontem solum deducere Verpum. Sat.

So Tac
vntium
a Vice
And
of the
all the
spiring
more
Beasts.
mere
distinct
rians,
were Br
Friends
Content
ded;
the
the
Al
whom
were not
rians,
Houses,
might do
to the B

^f Inter ist
exitium
gladiatorio
rarum iste
morsu
antur. De
Tò μ' ἐλ
Bagæin
663. D.

So Tacitus saith of their Envy, that it was
vitium parvis magnisque Civitatibus commune,
 a Vice common to great and little Cities :
 And ^f Seneca is very large in confirmation
 of these Words of the Apostle, representing
 all the Romans as Enemies to peace, con-
 spiring the Ruine of one another, and even
 more fierce and cruel to one another than wild
 Beasts. The Grecians in this matter were
 mere Jews, for even ^g Socrates makes this
 distinction between them, and the Barba-
 rians, that is, all other Nations, that they
 were Brethren and Kinsfolk, and φίλοι φίλοι
 Friends by Nature, and so all Quarrels and
 Contentions among them should be avoi-
 ded; but the Barbarians, saith he, are
 πολέμιοι φίλοι καὶ πολέμιοι ἢ ἐχθροὶ πάντων κλη-
 τειν, Aliens and Enemies by Nature, with
 whom we are to have continual War: They
 were not, saith he, to make slaves of the Gre-
 cians, to spoil their Fields, to burn their
 Houses, or destroy their Countries; but they
 might do all these things ^h πρὸς τὰς βαρβάρους;
 to the Barbarians, as being their Enemies.

^f Inter istos quos togatos vides nulla pax est, alter in alte-
 rius exitium levi compendio ducitur — non alia quam in ludo
 gladiatorio vita est, cum iisdem viventium pugnantiumque
 rerum iste conventus est, nisi quod illæ inter se placidæ
 sunt, morsuque similibus abstinent, hi mutua laceratione sa-
 crantur. De Ira. l. 2. c. 8.

^g Τὸ μὲν ἑλληνικὸν γένος αὐτὸ αὐτῶν οἰκεῖον καὶ συγγενές, τὰς
 βαρβάρους δὲ ὀθνεῖον καὶ ἀλλότειρον, apud Plat. de Rep. l. 5.
 663. D. ^h P. 644. A. B.

And whereas *Christianity* allows us neither to rejoice in any evil that happeneth to our Enemies, nor to endeavour to avenge our selves upon them, or return evil for evil, ⁱ *Socrates* saith, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ᾧ ἐχθρῶν καλῶς ἔχον ἄδικον ἔτε φθονερόν ἐστὶ τὸ χαίρειν, *it is neither unjust, nor invidious to rejoice at the evils of our Enemies.* Even *Cicero's* good Man is one, ^k *qui nemini nocet nisi latessit injuria*, who hurts no body when no body hurts him. Anger was generally defined by them to be ὀρεξις ἀντιλυπέσεως, *libido ulciscendi*, a desire of Revenge upon him whom we conceive to have done us injury; so 'tis defined by ⁱ *Cicero*, and so he doth express his Anger against *Dionysius*, saying, ^m *Odi hominem, utinam ulcisci possem*, I hate the Man, and would be glad to be revenged upon him; and he resolves to do the like to others, declaring, *Sic ulciscar facinora singula quemadmodum a quibusque sum provocatus*, I will revenge all Injuries according as I am provoked by any; so it is also defined by ⁿ *Aristotle*, who also speaks of Meekness as that which offends πρὸς ἑλπίαν, ἢ γὰρ τιμωρητικός ὁ πρῶτος, *as a defect, because the meek Man will not avenge himself*

ⁱ Apud Plat. Phileb. p. 395. C.

Tusc. qu. l. 3. n. 9.

tic. l. 9. n. 51.

^k De Off. l. 3. n. 16.

ⁿ Rhetor. l. 2. c. 2.

^m De Off. l. 3. n. 10.

^p Ep. ad A.

and o
a mor
cōdes
cause
himself

§. I
kednet
World
which
saith t
commi
the un
trary t
how th
lute th
were v
Heathe
did co
mission

ist,
commo
then W
monies
fore th
is the w

° Moral
° Nec
nec omnin
de Senect
quam corp
ibid. Vide

and of Revenge, as ^ο ἀνθρωπικότερον μᾶλλον
a more manly thing, and makes it ἀνδρα-
γῶδες a very slavish thing not to be angry, be-
cause he that is not angry, will not avenge
himself.

§. III. *Comm. 7th*, But if the chief Wic-
kedness which overwhelm'd the *Heathen*
World was that Uncleaness of all kinds,
which through the blindness of their Mind,
saith the *Apostle*, they did with greediness
commit; for being under the Conduct of
the unclean Spirit, who knew how con-
trary these Vices were to the divine Purity,
how they did war against, debase and pol-
lute the Soul, and how ^p inconsistent they
were with all Virtue, as *Cicero*, and other
Heathens do confess, he led them on, and
did continually prompt them to the com-
mission of these things. And,

1st, Because this Sin of *Fornication* was
common and indulg'd to through the *Hea-*
then World, and made sacred by the Cere-
monies and Worship of their Gods; there-
fore the *Scripture* doth not only say, *this*
is the will of God, even your Sacrificati- on, that

^ο Moral. l. 4. c. 11.

^p Nec enim libidine dominante temperantia locum esse,
nec omnino in voluptatis Regno virtutem posse consistere. Cato
de Senect. n. 36. Q. Maximus nullam capitaliorem pestem
quam corporis voluptatem hominibus dicebat a natura datam.
Ibid. Vide Somn. Scip. n. 33.

you abstain from Fornication, and walk not in the lusts of Concupiscence, as did the Heathens which knew not God, but also is express and frequent in condemning this Vice ;

1st, As a Sin contrary to Nature, *Fornication being, saith St. Paul, a Sin against the Body ; a Sin of unrighteousness to which God gave the Heathens up for their Idolatry ; a Sin which they who lived in were given up to a reprobate Mind, and knew they did things worthy of death, 1 Cor. 6. 18. Rom. 1. 28, 29, 32. And lastly, a Sin contrary to the moral Law, and so against the Law of Nature, for he declares that Law was given for the condemning Fornicators, 1 Tim. 1. 10.*

2^{dly}, As a Sin contrary to the *Christian Faith, and inconsistent with it, by which we do that which ought not to be named among Saints ; we take the Members of Christ, and make them the Members of an Harlot ; we despise that God who hath called us to Holiness, and given us his Holy Spirit, Eph. 5. 3. 1 Cor. 6. 15. 1 Thess. 4. 7, 8. 1 Tim. 1. 10, 11. Hence he declares it to be contrary to the sound Doctrine of the Gospel, and forbids Christians to eat with any Brother who is called a Fornicator, 1 Cor. 5. 11.*

3^{dly}, As

3^o
the
for m
any
of C
Eph.
exclu
22. 1
4th
pose
cation
which
dren
5, 6.
5th
to ete
and A
to Con
tion o
him i
Brimst
Reason
against
dent w
1st,
among
den eit
Nemo
genale si
Sevi illum
decrevi esse
Recyr. Act.

3dly, As being a Sin which will exclude the *Fornicator* from the Kingdom of God; for *no Fornicator*, saith St. Paul thrice, *hath any inheritance in the Kingdom of God, or of Christ*, Gal. 5. 19, 20, 21. — 6. 10, 11. Eph. 5. 5. They, saith St. John, *shall be excluded from the New Jerusalem*, Rev. 22. 15.

4thly, As that which will assuredly expose them to the Wrath of God; *Fornication and Uncleanness* being things for which the Wrath of God comes upon the Children of Disobedience, Eph. 5. 6. Col. 3, 5, 6.

5thly, As that which will subject them to eternal Punishments; for *Whoremongers and Adulterers* *οὐκ ἔστι θεός* God will adjudge to *Condemnation*, Hebr. 13. 4. The portion of the *Whoremonger* shall be assigned him in the lake that burns with Fire and Brimstone, Rev. 21. 8. And what great Reasons the Apostles had thus to inveigh against this Sin of Fornication, will be evident when we consider,

1st, That it was esteemed no Crime among the *Heathens*, it being ^a not forbidden either by Word or Deed, as we may

^a Nemo hic prohibet, nec vetat — quin quod palam est veniale si argentum est emas. Plaut. Curcul. Act. 1. Scen. 1. Scivi illum amicam habere, verum id vitium ego nunquam decrevi esse adolescentiæ, nam id omnibus innatum est, Ter. Hecyr. Act. 4. Sc. 1.

learn not only from the Testimony of the Poets, and of the Fathers, who in their Apologies and Defences of Christianity, lay this to the charge of Heathens, that they did not account these Actions sinful, or think they acted contrary to their duty by indulging to them, and tell the Heathen Emperors that they received Tribute from them who kept both Men and Women for such wicked purposes; but also from the Testimony of the two great Orators, Cicero and Demosthenes; the first pleading for this, as a thing generally permitted, and never reprehended; the other declaring that Whores were allowed throughout all Greece. It was either permitted or required by the Laws of most Nations; In Elis and Bæotia, and where there were no Wise-men ἀπλῶς νενομοθέτη καλὸν τὸ χαρίζεσθαι ἐρασταῖς, it was wholly permitted by the Law, saith Plato, it was wholly by Law pronounced honourable to use Whores, and neither old nor young Men

† Tales sunt οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ οἱ τῶν χαμαιύπων διαφόρως περσίουτες, διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ μὴ πάντως πρὸς τὸ καλὸν οὕτω γίνεσθαι. Orig. adv. Cels. p. 177. & Hom. 5. in Jer. p. 79.

‡ Si quis est qui etiam meretriciis amoribus interdictum putet, abhorret a majorum consuetudine atque concessis, quando enim hoc non factum est? quando reprehensum? quando non permissum? Grat. pro Cælio.

§ Τὰς μὲν ἑταῖρας ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα ἔχοντες -- τὰς δὲ γυναικας τὸ παιδοποιεῖν γυναικας. Apud Athen. l. 13. p. 573.

¶ Conviv. p. 1180. D.

did

did look upon it ὡς ἀκαθάρτον as an impure thing. Solon built a Temple which he called ^w ταν-
δόνος, *Veneris Templum*, the publick Temple
of *Venus*, whither the young Men might
resort to commit Fornication as well as at
the κερμαίχῃ or σκίεον, the usual places for
those Acts of Lewdness; and *Philemon* in
^x *Athenæus* celebrates his praises for making
these provisions for young Men, and ap-
pointing Women their Stations where they
might be ready for their use. *Corinth* was
famous to a Proverb for this Vice, κορυνθία
γυνή, a *Corinthian Woman* and a Whore, be-
ing in the Language of the *Heathens* the
same thing, and κορυνθιάζειν being to play the
Whore, or indulge to Whoredom, ^y Whores
being there consecrated to *Venus*, and
brought to Strangers by the Law. It was
also a Law among the *Persians*, say ^z *Plu-*
tarch and ^a *Macrobius*, when they gave up
themselves to Banquettings and Drunken-
ness, cum concubinis non cum conjugibus inire
Convivia, to bring in not their Wives, but
their Concubines. It was among the ^b *Ro-*

^w Petit in leges Att. p. 472.

^x L. 13. p. 569. D. E.

^y Ὑπάρχοντι τῶ τοιούτῳ νομίμῳ περὶ τῶ θεῶν Athen. l. 13.
p. 573. ὅτιν νόμου τὸ τὰς εταίρας ἐνθάδε μεθ' ἡμῶν.
p. 574. ^z Symp. p. 913. A. ^a Saturn. 7. c. 1.

^b Tacitus Annal. 2. p. 73. ubi Lipsius, non tam graviter
animadversum in libertinorum, aut è plebe quibus hæc mili-
tia venerea tantum non permessa, quod ex Horatio, Ovidio,
aliisque liquere potest,

mans permitted to the *Libertines* and *vulgar sort*, and those who did profess it before the *Ædiles*. And the *Emperors*, as *Justin M.* tells them, *received a tribute from these Stews and Brothel-houses* to which almost all Men resorted: And hence grave *Epicætus* exhorts his young Man, if he can to contain till Marriage; if he cannot, only to whore ὡς νομιμὸν ἔστι according to Law. All the *Indians*, saith ^a *Bardefanes*, excepting only the *Brachmans*, were addicted to *Murther, Whoredom, and Drunkenness*; the *Persians* and *Parthians*, saith ^c *Brissinius*, had their Herds of Whores for this purpose.

And that this practice should obtain so generally throughout all *Greece*, and in most other Nations, cannot seem strange when we consider that it had the approbation of their most celebrated *Philosophers*, and was practiced generally by them; that the religious Rites of many Nations did require it as an acceptable piece of service to, and a gratification of, their Gods and Goddeses; that some of their *Oracles* did countenance

^c Τὴς πάντας χέδον ὁρῶμεν ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ περὶ ἀγῶνας ἔμῳνον τὰς κῶρας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀρσένους καὶ τέτων μιᾶς καὶ εἰσπορεύς καὶ τέλη λαμβάνει. Apol. 2. p. 70.

^d Τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν φονδόνων καὶ ἐταιρδόνων, καὶ μεθύσκειν. Apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 6. c. 10. p. 275.

^e De Reg. Pers. l. 2. p. 232.

it, an
for it.
157
maint
either
for V
practi
to ma
them
saith
ἔστι καὶ
be blan
curus,
nion,
we co
they
of the
the Ea
ἔστι ἀφ' ἑ
Diogen
be not
ἄλλας
four, a
amorou
and oth
Stilpo
dota an

^f De leg
^g D. La
^h Vide
3. p. 18
Athen. ibi

it, and many of their Gods were famous for it. And,

157, The Stoicks, saith *Sextus Empyricus*, maintained that it was not ἀτοπον *absurd* either for them to cohabit with Whores or for Whores to get their Living by such practices. ^f *Plato* forbids the young Men to make bold with Free-women, but gives them liberty to enjoy others; and where, saith he, 'tis done according to the Laws, ὅς τ' ἦεν ψυχρὸν ἂν δικάως, *it cannot reasonably be blamed*. That *Diogenes*, *Aristippus*, *Epicurus*, and his Followers, were of this opinion, cannot reasonably be doubted when we consider their avowed Doctrine, That they knew no other Pleasures than those of the Body, the Pleasures of the Taste, the Ears, the Eye beholding Beauty, καὶ τὰς ἀφροδισίων, *and those of Venus*. Hence *Diogenes Laertius* saith of *Epicurus*, that he not only used *Leontium*, but ἑταίρας καὶ ἄλλας *other Whores*, of whom he mentions four, and many others to whom he wrote amorous Letters: ^h *Aristippus* had his *Lais*, and other Whores; *Diogenes* the same *Lais*; *Stilpo* his *Nicarites*; *Archefilaus* his *Theodota* and *Philete*; *Demetrins* his *Lamis* and

^f De leg. l. 8. p. 914. Sympof. p. 1180.

^g D. Laert. l. 10. p. 606.

^h Vide Athen. l. 13. p. 588. D. Laert. l. 2. p. 128, 147.

3. p. 187. l. 4. p. 251. l. 5. p. 269. p. 307. l. 7. p. 373.

Athen. ibid. p. 589.

Lampeto, whence he was called by her Name; *Socrates* his *Aspasia*; and *Plato* his *Archeanassa* and *Agatho*; *Aristotle* his *Herpillis*, of whom he begat *Nichomachus*; *Zeno* was a lover of Boys, and used Whores but once or twice to avoid being accounted an hater of their Sex.

2dly, This was a part of the religious Rites of many Nations, who as they went a whoring after false Gods in dishonour of the true, so did they whore in honour of their false and wicked Deities, as hath been shew'd under the Head of their obscene and filthy Rites of Worship. The *Pythian Oracle*, saith ⁱ *Theodoret*, *Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπαινέι γυναικας* praised the Women of *Lacædominia* for sporting freely thus with whom they pleased.

Lastly, They had the example of *Jupiter*, and almost all the other Gods, to encourage them in this practice; whence, saith *Lactantius* of *Jupiter*, *omitto virgines quas imminuit id enim tolerabile judicari solet*, I mention not the Virgins whom he hath corrupted, this being counted no great Crime among you. And hence *Chærea* in *Terence* saith, *that he in this did only imitate their Jupiter*,

ⁱ Adv. gent. Serm. 10. Ed. Syl. p. 141.

* Quod fecit is qui templa cœli summa sonitu concutit, ego homuncio non facerem? *Eynuch. Act. 3. Sc. 5.*

And yet that this roving Fornication was judged sinful by the Light of Nature, we learn not only from the *Apostle*, who ranks it among the Sins known to the *Heathen* by the Light of Nature to be worthy of Punishment, but from their Sentiments and Customs; for a Whore, saith *Ulpian*, is vile by Profession, and Fornication is by ¹ *Philosophers* rank'd among the Species of Intemperance or Incontinency. And even the ^m *Poets*, tho' they will not have it to be *scelus*, a Villany or Lewdness, yet do they acknowledge it to be *flagitium*, a Fault or Crime. Hence, in some Nations, ⁿ Whores were forbid to come into their Cities: In *Athens*, saith ^o *Demosthenes*, to come into their *Temples*; and both *Greeks* and *Romans* made them distinguish themselves from honest Women by their || Garb, and other notes of Infamy; nor would they permit any to tempt a Virgin or a Free-woman to it: And ^p *Musonius* argues from the care

¹ Μέλα γὰρ σωφροσύνης ἐκ ἄν' ἐταίρα πλησιάζειν ὑπερβαίνει τις. Muson. apud. Stob. Serm. 6. p. 82, 83.

^m Non est scelus, adolescentulum scortari, flagitium est, Ter.

ⁿ Καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων μὴ ἐπιτρομῆσαι εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἔξω ἢ τῶν αὐτῶν. Orig. in Celsum l. 4. p. 206.

^o Καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῷ σώματι ἡταιρηκότος ἐκ ἑῶσιν οἱ νόμοι εἰσιέναι. εἰς τὰ ἱερά. Demost. Androt.

|| Juber lex Attica τὰς ἐταίρας ἀνθίνα φορεῖν. Petit. p. 476.

^p Αἰσχρὸς γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωπος μέλα τοῖς σεβαστάσι αὐτὰς ὅθεν εἰς τὰς πόλεις φανερώς εἰσελθεῖν ἀνέχεται τοιούτων ἔθους. Muson. ibid.

Men use to conceal and deny this practice, that it is opposite to that Modesty which Nature hath implanted in us; and a little consideration will make it appear to be a violation of the Law of Nature; for were this simple Fornication lawful, all Men might make a constant use of this freedom, nor could any Man by the Law of Nature be obliged to marry; and if that Relation were dissolved, there could be no such thing as Families, and all natural Affection and Duty between the Father and the Child must be cut off, nor could there be any such Sin as Incest, but the Daughter might cohabit with the Father, and he with her, because then no Man could know his own Child, no Children their Fathers, and the good Education of Children, on which the good of all Societies chiefly depends, would be neglected, no Man caring to educate such Children as he did not know to be his own, and the Women being sure to breed them up to their own vicious courses; And lastly, without a succession in the way of Marriage, no Man could be born to an Estate or an Inheritance; and without these advantages humane Life would be in many deprived of great advantages and supports.

2dly, Although Adultery was neither so common nor generally allowed as Fornication was, yet was the practice of it very frequent

frequent in many Nations, and in some it was not only connived at, and permitted, but by Law approved. The ^a Spartans exhorted their Wives to *lie with the most beautiful Men, whether they were Citizens or Strangers*; and this they did according to the ^r Laws of their *Lycurgus*, who enacted, that an aged Man might bring his Wife to any one he liked to have Children by him, and if any Man saw a fruitful and free Woman, *by the leave of her Husband he might have Children by her*. Hence *Callicratides* the *Pythagorean* gave this Precept to the Wife, that she must bear with her Husband, καὶ ἄλλοις γυναῖξι (συγγυή), *tho' he used other Women, since the Law allow'd this to the Man, and not to the Woman*, ὥσαυτ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ δεῖ καὶ μὴ ζηλοτυπέειν, *she therefore must bear with the Law, and not be jealous*: And *Plutarch* in the Life of *Lycurgus* having mentioned these Laws, commends them, as being made φυσικῶς, καὶ πολιτικῶς, *agreeably to Nature and to Polity*, and saith they had so good effect, ὥστε ὅλως ἀπίστον εἶναι τὸ τῷ μοιχείας παρ' αὐτοῖς, *that there was no suspicion of Adultery among them*, as if the best Remedy

^a Ταῖς δὲ ἑαυτῶν γυναῖξι. Ἰσοκράτους ἐν τῷ εὐαιδελῶν κτύπῳ καὶ ἀσῶν καὶ ξένων. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 293.

^r Ἡ γὰρ αὖν ὁ τεκνον καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα ὁρῶν παίσαντα τὸ ἔχοντα ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖται. Stob. ibid. p. 285. Plut. in vita Lycurg. p. 49. ^s Ibid

against Adultery was to say, *by your leave*, before they did it. And indeed, what a Friend *Plutarch* was to this horrid Crime, we learn from his *Conjugal Precepts*, where he adviseth the Wife not to be angry or take it ill tho' her Husband, Ἐξάμαρτον τι πρὸς ἑταίραν ἢ θεραπαινίδα, *should divert from her to a Whore, or Serving-maid*; and as for a Matron, he would not have her ἀπάχεσθαι *to begin the solicitation to Adultery*, for that, saith he, would look somewhat whorish, μήτε φάσκειν μήτε δυσχεραίνειν τα τοιαῦτα τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀρχομένῳ, *nor to fly from, or be morose to him who begins the solicitation*, for that would, saith he, shew that she was proud, and an enemy to love. In Rome it self this was a Crime so frequent, that " *Seneca* complains of it as a thing done by all the Women without shame, so that she was deem'd a foolish and old-fashion'd Woman who was not an *Adultress*. The " Law of *Gela*, a City in *Sicily*, allow'd γυναῖκας κοινωνεῖν οἷς ἂν βέλονται καὶ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, *the Women to converse with whom they pleased, and they*

^c P. 140. B. C.

^u Numquid jam ullus Adulterii pudor est, postquam eventum est ut nulla virum habeat nisi ut adulterum irritet, Argumentum est deformitatis pudicitia, quam invenies tam miseram tam sordidam ut illi satis sit unum Adulterorum par infrunita, antiqua est quæ nesciat matrimonium vocari unius adulterium. De Benef. l. 3. c. 16.

^w Bardes apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 6. c. 10. p. 275.

werē neither condemned, nor accounted Adul-
teresses by their Husbands for so doing. The
Bactrian Women did this, saith ^x Barde-
sanus, with their Servants, and with Stran-
gers, their Husbands not blaming them for it.
¹ Diodorus Siculus informs us of the Inha-
bitants of the Island of Tabrobran, and of
the Ichthyophagites and Troglodites, that τὰς
γυναῖκας ἔχουσι κοινὰς, they had their Wives in
common; ² Stobaeus, from Nicolaus, de mori-
bus gentium, saith the same of the Limur-
means, and the Agathyrsi, a People of Sar-
matia; ³ Herodotus testifies of them that
ἐπίκοινον ἔχουσι γυναῖκων μίξιν ποιεῖον ὅτι κασιγνήτοὶ
ἀλλήλων ἔωσι, they had their Wives in common
that they might be called Brethren; The
Tyrrenians and the Thascians, saith Athe-
naeus, had the same Law; ^b Strabo informs
us of the People of Tapyra by the Caspian
Sea, that the Law bound them to let out
their Wives to other Men, after they had
had two or three Children by them: The
Massagetae, saith Pyrrhon, ^c had also their
Wives common; they married but one Wife,
saith ^d Strabo, χεῖρον δὲ ἢ ἄλλων ἐκ ἀφανῶς,

¹ Ἀδιαφόρως ποιεῖ Βάκτριαι αἱ γυναῖκες κοινῶσι τοῖς
ἄλλοις, καὶ τοῖς ξένοις, ἀδελφὰν ἔχουσι ἢ τοιαύτως καὶ ὑπὸ τῶ
ἑκαστοῦ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι. Ibid. p. 276. B.

² L. 3. p. 140. B. 152. C. 165. C.

³ Serm. 42. p. 291.

^a L. 4. c. 104.

^b L. 12. p. 517. D.

^c D. Laert.

^d p. 200.

^e Strabo l. 11. p. 353.

but they use other Mens publickly : The Scythians, saith ^c he, have their Wives common, according to the Laws of Plato ; and, lastly, ^e Origen saith of the Heathens in general, that they shake of their Fornications and Adulteries without shame, as of some notable Exploit. Nor is it wonder'd that these things should be done at Rome, where Cato lent his Wife to Hortensius ; or in Greece, where most of the Philosophers approved the practice ; for D. Laertius informs us, that this was the avowed Doctrine of Zeno, and Chrysippus, Diogenes, Antisthenes, and Plato, who is positive that these things ought to be common among Friends. This he repeats and frequently inculcates, and even establishes as a Law. Moreover, in some Nations this was thought a piece of service to their Gods and Goddesses, as hath been proved already.

And yet this was so plainly a Sin against the Light of Nature, that many of the ^f Philosophers have condemn'd it, and in

^c I. 7. p. 209.

^e Βλέπεις γὰρ πῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τίνα τέχνην ὡς ἀρετῆς ἔχοντες ὅτι καὶ ἀλέγουσι τὰς πορνείας, καὶ τὰς μοιχείας ἑαυτῶν ἔδωκεν αἰδοῦντο ὁμολογεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα πέποινηκεναι. Hom. 5. in Jerem. Ed. Huet. To. 1. p. 79. C.

^f Αἱ μὲν μὴ μοιχείαν συμπλοκαὶ ἀφαινομένηται. Muson. apud Stob. p. 82. Serm. 6. Ἀδικεῖ καὶ τὰν αὐτῶν παλαιοὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέψασα τοῖς ἐνδιαφεραμένοις, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ μέγιστον τὸ προσίμων εἶναι δάνατον. Pynetas apud Stob. Serm. 72. p. 444. Vide Arrian. l. 2. c. 4. p. 178.

many places it was punished in the Woman with Death, in the Man with Infamy; nor was the injured Person punishable if, in his Rage, he slew the Adulterer; and as among the primitive *Christians* no Absolution was to be given to him, so, say the ^b*Heathens*, there was no καθαρισμός *purgation* appointed by their sacred Rites to restore such Persons to the favour of the Gods as had violated the sacred Bond of Matrimony. I proceed,

3dly, To their incestuous Copulations, which also were allow'd by many and great Nations; the *Persians*, *Medes*, *Indians*, *Æthiopians*, saith St. ⁱ*Jerom*, mixed with *Grandmothers*, *Daughters*, and *Nieces*: This of the *Persians* is so well known, and so fully proved by ^k*Bar. Brissonus*, that it is superfluous to say more of it, excepting only that this was accounted a thing ^l*sacred* by their *Magi*, and they did it according to *Law*. Of the *Egyptians* it is declared, by ^m*Diodorus Siculus*, ⁿ*Sextus Empe-*

^b Stob. Ibid.

ⁱ Persæ, Medi, Indi, Æthiopes Regna non modica & Romano Regno paria, cum Matribus, & Avibus, cum Filiabus, & Neptibus copulantur. Contr. Jovin. l. 2. F. 28. A.

^k De Reg. Persico. l. 2. p. 230, 231.

^l Τὸς ὃ μάλιστα ὁσίων νομίζεν ἡ ἱερὰ, ἢ θυγατέρι μίσγεται. Laert. pro. p. 5. Τέτοις καὶ μνηστῆσι σωέσχεα νόμοις. Strabo l. 15. p. 505.

^m Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 16.

ⁿ Emp. l. 3. c. 24.

tics, and others, that τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἀνὴρ
 πρὸς γάμον, they married their Sisters, and
 that they did this, διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν τέτοισι Ἰσι-
 οῦ ἐπιτάγμα, in imitation of their Goddess
 Isis. ° Minutius Fælix and ° Philo say,
 Egyptiis & Athenis legitima cum Sororibus
 connubia, the Egyptians and the Athenians
 also married with their Sisters: The Athe-
 nians and Spartans, say ° Historians, did it
 by the permission of their Law-givers; from
 the Assyrians, saith Constantius Manasses,
 the Persians had this Custom, and they
 from the example of Jupiter; from the
 Persians it pass'd, saith Bardefanes, to the
 Medians; from them to the Magusæans, to
 Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia; and all these
 things they did agreeably to the Philosophy
 of ° Zeno and Chrysippus: And yet this is by
 ° Diodorus Siculus declared to be ὁμοῦ κοινόν
 ἑσθλόν, contrary to the common Custom; by
 ° Hipparchus it is reckoned among ἀνοσιαλάτες
 ἡδοναὶ the most impure Pleasures; by D. La-

° Min. p. 35.

° Philo de Special. leg. p. 602.

° Ἐστὶν ὅτι ἡ ἑρὼν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν Πέρσων τὸ τοῦ
 Ἀσσυρίων νόμος, ita de Jove. Lucian. de Sacrif. p. 85. Καὶ
 μόνον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ κλίματι τέτοις τῶν
 ἀνοσιῶν νόμος οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν τῶν
 σιδεῶν ἀξεδήμησαν οἱσινας καλὸν Μαγυσῶσι. Bardes. apud
 Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 6. c. 10. p. 275.

° Καὶ μηδεὶς λέγει σωέσχεσθαι καὶ δυσχερεῖς καὶ ἡδοναί. D.
 Laert. de Chrysippo, de Zenone Sext. Empyr. l. 3. c. 24, 25.
 Plutarch. de Stoic. Repugn. p. 1024. F. Orig. adv. Cell. l. 1.
 p. 194.

° Apud Stob. Serm. 106. p. 573.

° Ibid. p. 481.

ertius it is said to be, χαμαιλύπαις μάλλον πρὸς
πρὸς ἢ θεοῖς, *fitter for the Stews than the Gods*;
Whence Plato, and other Philosophers,
would allow *no Men or Women to converse*
with one another in these * *degrees.*

3dly, Another Sin of which the Apostle
speaks, Rom. 1. and of which most of the
Philosophers were accused, was πόλμημα
κατὰ φύσιν, *the Sin of Sodomy.* Justin M. de-
clares that in every Nation παῖδων πλῆθος,
a multitude of Boys were bred up to this exe-
crable Art. They had a Privilege from
the Romans, παῖδων ἀγέλας συαίρειν, *to breed*
up herds of Boys to it; and they who were
thus taught, were stiled, saith Lipsius, *Pueri*
pedagogii; and of these both Tacitus and
* Seneca speak with the greatest Indigna-
tion. * Athenæus informs us that many pre-
ferr'd it before the use of Women, and that
in many Cities of Greece, ἀποδιδωμι τὸ ὅ τι τὸ
ἐσθλόν, *this practice was studiously promoted*;
The Cretians, and the Inhabitants of Chal-
cis, were notoriously guilty of it; * Maxi-
mus Tyrius imputes it to the Greeks in ge-
neral: From the Græcians, the Persians de-

* Πάλω συστρεῖ καὶ μνηλεῖ καὶ τῷ συστρεῖων παῖσι. De Rep.
l. 5. p. 657. E. Τῇ ἔθες καὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῷ πρὸς ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἀδελ-
φὸν μίξιν αποκωλύσαντες. Simplic. c. 47. p. 274.

* Transeo Puerorum infeliciū greges quos post transacta
convivia aliā cubiculi contumeliā expectant, transeo agmina
exoletorum. Ep. 95. p. 601.

* L. 13. p. 601,

* Diff. 10. p. 108,

rived this custom, saith ^z *Herodotus*, and ^a the *Scholiast* upon *Nazianzens Steletenticks*; and the Wise-men of Greece, saith ^b *Bardefanes*, were not reprehended for it; ^c *Plato* confesseth it will be a difficult matter to keep it out of his Commonwealth, it being allow'd by the Cretians, the Lacedemonians, and by other Greeks and barbarous Nations; and he himself seems to allow it to Soldiers. The Gauls, say ^d *Diodorus Siculus* and ^e *Bardefanes*, tho' they had very fine Women, were very much addicted to the love of Boys, and were permitted to marry with them; that practice obtained also among the ^f *Germans*; and, saith ^g *Athenæus*, among the *Thuscians*.

Moreover these practices had the countenance and suffrage of most of the Philoso-

^z Πέρσαι παρ' ἑλλήνων μαθόντες πασι μίσην, Herodot. l. 1. Athen. l. 12. p. 603. A.

^a Στλη. p. 64.

^b Παρ' ἑλλήσι ὃ καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἐρωμένους ἔχοντες ἔψεν. Apud Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 6. c. 10.

^c Ἡ κρήνη τε ἡμῖν ὅλη καὶ ἡ Λακεδαιμὼν τιθεῖσι νόμους περὶ τῶν ἐρώτων παίδων τε ἀρρένων καὶ θηλείων ἐναντίον παντ' ἀπασιν. De leg. l. 8. p. 919. F. & p. 913. Metuit ne τὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων διαφθερῶν τὸ λευκομήλου ἀτακτον Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑφ' ὧν τὸ καὶ ἀκόντες μέγιστον δυνάμει. V. de Rep. l. 5. p. 662. C.

^d Παρὰ ὃ Γάλλοις οἱ νεοὶ γαμῶν μὲν παρρησίας ἔψον τὸτο ἡγεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμον. Diod. Sic. l. 5. p. 214.

^e Bard. apud Euseb. præpar. Ev. l. 6. c. 10.

^f Ἀρρένομιξία ὡς Γερμανοῖς καὶ ὡς θηλαῖοις ἐκ αἰχρὸν. Sext. Emp. l. 3. c. 24.

^g Athen. l. 12. p. 517. l. 13. p. 601.

phers; whence ^h *Athenæus* having told us of some who perished on the account of it by divine Vengeance, breaks forth into this Exclamation, Be aware therefore, ye Philosophers, lest you also perish for it after the same manner: ⁱ *Lucian* says that τὸ παυδεργεῖν, this unnatural Lust sprang up together with Philosophy, and therefore, saith he, ἀφείδω μόνοις Φιλοσόφοις, let it be left to them alone: ^k *Plutarch* plainly confesses, he was inclined to allow of it for their sakes; for, saith he, when I hear the complaints of the Parents against them for using their Children so contumeliously, I am afraid to be ἐπιστήης καὶ ὑμῶν, an Introducer and Counsellor of this practice; but again, when I think of Socrates, Plato, Zenophon, Æschines, and Cebes, καὶ τὴν πάντα χάριν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ τὰς Ἀρρένας ἐδοκίμαζ' ἐρῶτας, and the whole company of those Men who approv'd of these Masculine loves, I change my opinion, and am moved by an emulation of them, tho' I leave every Man to enjoy his own opinion in this matter. To the Philosophers he mentions we may add from ^l *Diogenes Laertius*, and others, *Archefilaus*, who was Φιλομαρξίς.

^h Ὁρᾷτε ἔν καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι ὡς οὖσιν τῇ Ἀρρενὶ δίτη χρώμενοι, καὶ ἀσεβῆντες εἰς τὸ θεὸν μὴ τὸ ἀντὶ τὸν διαφθῆναι τελευτᾶν, l. 13. p. 605. D.

ⁱ De amor. p. 216, 236,

^k De lib. Educ. p. 11, 12,

^l L. 4. p. 251, 253,

a lover of Boys, and was upon that account branded as Φθορετα ῥ νέων, a corrupter of Youth; ^m Bion Borysthenes, and ⁿ Zeno, who used Women rarely, παυδικοῖς ὃ ἀεί, but Boys continually, saith *Antigonus Charystius* in his Life; whence it seems reasonable to conjecture that the words in ^o *Laertius* should be read παυδικοῖς ἐσχέτο δ̄ παανίως, he used Boys not seldom, Women but once or twice, which last words shew the probability of this conjecture. *Aristotle* is taxed by ^p *Laertius* for the love of *Pythocles*; by *Athenaeus* for the love of his Scholar *Phaselytis*. The Oracle at *Delphi*, saith ^q *Theodoret*, praised the Wisdom of *Lycurgus*, who allowed the love of Boys; and the *Pythian Oracle*, saith ^r *Lucian*, the Wisdom of *Socrates*, who practised it as μάλιστα ὠφελεῖν, most profitable; and the *Phœnicians*, saith ^s *Athanasius*, thought it a grateful piece of service to the Mother of the Gods to play the *Sodomites*: In fine, the *Cretians*, saith ^t *Plato*, from the Story of *Ganymedes* thus loved by *Jupiter*, said, they enjoy'd their Pleasure ἐπὶ μῦροι τῷ θεῷ, in imitation of their God.

^m Apud Athen. l. 13. p. 563.

ⁿ L. 7. p. 373.

^o L. 10. p. 605.

^p L. 13. p. 566.

^q Serm. 10. adv. Gr. p. 630. B.

^r De Amor. p. 233.

^s Orat. contr. Gent. p. 165. A.

^t Plato de leg. l. 1. p. 776. E.

And yet Plato pronounceth both of these unnatural Lusts, and of the incestuous Copulations beforementioned, that they were
 * Θεομισῇ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀγίασα, *hateful to God,*
and most abominable in themselves; and
 * Max. Tyrinus saith of the last, that it is
 ἄδικον ἢ μίξις, *an unjust mixture of Mad-*
men.

4thly, Whereas Drunkenness, as experience teacheth, is both the incentive to all manner of Uncleanneſs, and to those Quarrels which often end in the destruction of Men's lives, and so violates both the sixth and seventh Commandments; this also was a Sin of which the *Heathens* were exceeding guilty, almost all Nations who had the use of Wine being addicted to it, as we learn from * *Athenæus*, who declares, concerning the *Colophonians*, that they used to employ the whole Night πρὸς τὸ μεθύειν, *in Drunkenness*; that the People of * *Byzantium* were ἀκόλαστοι καὶ συστίαζεν καὶ πίνειν, *intemperate in Whoring and in Drinking*; that the * *Chalcedonians* were also after their example, φιλοπότοι, *lovers of Drink*; that the * *Thessalonians* spent the Day ἐν πότοις καὶ ἀκολασίαις, *in Drinking and Lasciviousness*; that the * *Syrians* for the most part of the Day

* De leg. 8. p. 912.

* L. 13. p. 526.

* Ibid.

* Diff. 10. p. 168.

* Ibid.

* Ibid.

* P. 527.

were γαστρίζομενοι οἶνοῖς, *loading their Bellies with Wine*; that the People of ^c Tarentum were always conversant περὶ Λωστίας καὶ πότῃς, *about Drinking and Whoring, living in Pleasures now, upon the Principle of Epicurus, that they did not expect to live hereafter*: The ^d Macedonians, saith he, lived ἀσώτως *like Sots*; amongst the Nations which μέθῃς χρῶντο *used this Vice*, ^e he reckons from Plato de legibus, the Lydians, the Persians, the Carthaginians, the Gauls, the Spaniards, the Thracians, the Scythians, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα γένῃ, *and such like Nations, and the Indians*; add to these the ^f Illyrians, the Argives, the Milesians, the Tirynthians, and the People of Methymnum in Crete, and of Phigalea or Phialea in Arcadia; all the ^g Grecians were infamous to a Proverb for this; to guttle ἐλλυμικῶς, and Pergracari being to drink to excess; and so were the ^h Scythians, whence ἐπικυθίσαι bears the same sense.

In fine, This was one part of the Worship which they paid to their Gods and Goddesses: The Armenians were great ado-

^c L. 4. p. 166.

^d P. 167.

^e L. 10. p. 432.

^f P. 437, 443.

^g Græco more bibere, to be as merry as a Greek. Erasmi. Adag. Ch. 4. cent. 1. p. 695. Dies noctesque bibite pergracimini. Plaut. Mustel.

^h Σκυθίζεν & Scythica potio, Erasmi. Adag. Chil. 2. Cent. 3. p. 337. Athen. l. 10. p. 417.

ers of *Anaitis*, in whose Solemnities both Men and Women continued μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νυκτὶς (χυθισὶ πινούτες, *Day and Night drinking to excess*; the same was done in the Feasts of *Bacchus*, saith the ⁱ *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes*, ἐν ᾗ τὰ διονύσια αἴοντο, καὶ μεθύοντες πορνὰς ἤρπαζον, *in which being drunk they snatched up their Whores*; hence, when *Megillus*, the *Lacedemonian*, had told the *Athenian* that he saw their whole City drunk at the Solemnity of *Bacchus*, marvel not at that, saith the *Athenian*, καὶ νόμος ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἐπεὶ, *the Law then requires it of us*; and ⁱ *Plato* allows no Man to be drunk, πλὴν ἐν τοῖς τῷ οἶνον δόουλῳ θεῷ ἐορταῖς, *save at the Feasts of Bacchus*; and hence, saith ^m *Athenæus*, they called the Drink used at those *Sacra*, μέθη, and their God μεθυμναῖον, *the drunken God*, and introduced him οἰνώμηνον, *overcharged with Wine*. Nor were these Vices proper to the Solemnities of *Bacchus*, but were an usual Appendix to other Sacrifices they offered to their *Deities*; whence *Seluchus* saith, that anciently it was not usual to drink Wine much, or abound in Dainties, καὶ μὴ θεῶν ἕνεκα τῶτο εὐφρόντες, *save when they did this in honour of their Gods*, καὶ ἔτι τὰς θεὰς οἰνῶδες δεῖν πειλάμεσθαι, *for*

ⁱ Euseb. p. 689.

ⁱ L. 9. p. 363.

^a Athen. l. 2. p. 40.

^{*} De leg. l. 1. p. 777. l. 6. p. 870. F.

^m L. 10. p. 428.

whose

whose sake they conceived it was their duty to be drunk; on which account they called their Feasts, held after their Sacrifices, *δοίνας* and *μέθας*, because at these Solemnities they thought they might be drunk; and *τὸ μεθύειν* to be drunk hath its original hence, that *μὲν τὸ δύειν ὡτὶ χεῖρας*, they used to be so after their Sacrifices: No times of Feasting, no Actions, no other Sights, saith * Plutarch, rejoice us more than those which we see, or do, *ὀφειάζοντες, ἢ θυσίας παργύνας, ἢ τελεταῖς*, at the Orgia of Bacchus, or being present at the Sacrifices and Mysteries of the Gods; for when the Soul thinks or collects by Reason that the God is most present, then laying aside all fears and sorrows, it lets it self loose to its Pleasure, *μηχρὶ μέθης καὶ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος*, even to Drunkenness, and Sports, and Laughter. Hence † Diogenes said, he was incensed against them who sacrificed to the Gods for Health, but did *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ τῇ υἱείας διαπνεῖν*, sup at those Sacrifices against their Health; and Aristippus, who loved ‡ *οἶνον παλαιὸν καὶ ἑταῖρας*, old Wine, and Whores, being taxed for his Luxury, replied, *εἰ τὸτο Φαῦλον ὅστιν εἴη ἂν ἐν τῷ τῷ θεῷ ἐορταῖς ἐγίνετο*, if this were evil, it would not be practised in the Feasts of the Gods: And

* Non posse suaviter v. p. 1101. E.

† D. Laert. l. 6. p. 329.

‡ L. 2. p. 130.

yet Drunkenness is by all their Moralists put among the Species of Intemperance, and accounted matter of Shame: Plato forbids all Men to drink to excess till they be forty Years old, and then only sends them to the Feasts of the Gods thus to rejoice with them.

The Stoicks Wise-man was not to be drunk at all, because there was Iniquity and Madness in it; whereas their Wise-man must be guilty of no Sin, and never must be Mad: And Pythagoras forbid all excess of Drink, and said, that Drunkenness hurts the Mind in the strength and vigor of it.

§. IV. Comm. 8th. Again, whereas Christianity forbids not only Violence and Rapine, Oppression and Extortion, but all the Arts of Fraud and Over-reaching our Brother; Didymus upon the Question in Homer's Odysses, Who art thou, and whence

¹ Aristot. de Mor. l. 3. c. 13. p. 41. Zenoph. de dict. Socr. l. 1. p. 564. ἐκ αἰχμῇ μεθύων.

² Μέθης ὅ καὶ πολυοινίας τὸ πᾶν ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ νέον, De leg. l. 2.

³ Dicunt Stoici. ἐχ οὗ μεθυθήσεως καὶ νέον ἔχοντα καὶ πὺ μεθλὼ ἀμαρτυρίαν παρέχειν, λήρησιν (τε) εἰ πᾶσι καὶ ἑν (l. οἶνον.) Stob. Eclog. Ech. p. D. Laert. l. 7. §. 118.

⁴ Τὼ μεθλὼ ἐν ἀνθρώποις βλαβλὼ καλεῖται, λέγων μὴ πρᾶτταίνεω μήτε τῷ πότῳ, μήτε τῷ σίλει, l. 8. n. 9.

⁵ Ὡς εἶναι τίνες ἐσε, πόθεν πλεῖστον ὕψος κίλδθα οἷα τε ληϊστῆρες. Od. γ. v. 80, 82.

comest thou, is it as a Thief to kill, and do mischief to other Nations? saith $\epsilon\kappa \alpha\delta\omicron\varsigma\omicron\nu \lambda\omicron\upsilon$ $\omega\varsigma \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron \lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\nu \alpha\lambda\lambda' \epsilon\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma\omicron\nu$, that Theft among the Ancients was rather counted glorious than criminal; and Eustachius there saith the same, $\omega\varsigma \tau\omicron \pi\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\nu$, of Piracy and other Theft, and proves this from Thucydides and * Herodotus, who saith of the Thracians, and others, $\gamma\eta\varsigma \delta' \epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omega \alpha\tau\iota\mu\omega\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$, $\tau\omicron \zeta\omega\iota \delta\alpha\pi\omicron \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\alpha \kappa' \lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\Theta\epsilon \kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\omicron\nu$, they thought it dishonourable to till the Earth, but very honourable to live by War and Theft; that $\delta \beta\iota\omicron\varsigma \tau' \epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$, the life of the Greeks at first was spent in Theft; and that this was so far from being accounted dishonourable, $\omega\varsigma \epsilon\nu \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\mu \mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu \tau\iota \kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$, as that it rather was accounted honourable. The place referred to in Thucydides, is too large to be transcribed; it saith, that anciently not only the Barbarians, but the Grecians in the Islands and the Continent lived chiefly upon Theft and Rapine, $\epsilon\kappa \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\nu\theta\epsilon \pi\omega \alpha\iota\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega \tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \tau\epsilon \epsilon\pi\epsilon\phi\epsilon\rho\gamma\eta\theta\epsilon \delta' \tau\iota \kappa' \delta\omicron\varsigma\eta\varsigma \mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, that way of living being then rather accounted glorious than shameful, yea, saith he, $\kappa' \mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota \tau\epsilon\delta\epsilon \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha \tau' \epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\theta\epsilon \tau\omega \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omega \tau\epsilon\rho\omega \nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\delta$, this practice continues till now in most Parts of Greece. Of the Phocenses, † Justin saith,

* L. 5. c. 6.

† L. 1. princip.

‡ L. 43. c. 3.

that they lived mostly *latrocinio maris*, that is, by Piracy, that being in those times accounted glorious; and ^a Strabo having mention'd eight several Nations, he saith, πάντα μὲν ἐν ταῦτα ληστειώτατα ἔθνη, all these are excessively given to Theft; from the River Euphrates to the Ocean, and towards the East, ὁλοιδ' ὁρᾷ μὲν ὡς κλέπτῃς ἢ πάντῃ δ' ἄνακτεῖ, he that is reproached as a Thief is not much offended at it; 'twas accounted glorious among the ^c Cicilians, saith Sextus Empyricus, allowed by the ^d Spartans and Egyptians, by the ^e Germans and the Inhabitants of ^f Spain; and, saith ^g Sextus Empyricus, That cannot be unjust which is done by the God Mercury, the Prince of Thieves, ὡς γὰρ αὖ ἐν θεοῖς κακός, for how can a God be wicked?

And yet it is as certain, from the Light of Nature, that Theft and Rapine must be acts of Injustice, as that it is the property of Justice to give to every one, or to let a Man quietly enjoy, his own, and to do no Man any Injury: nor is any thing more cer-

^a L. 7. p. 220.

^b Apud Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 6. c. 10. p. 276.

^c Εὐκλεῆς ἦτο οἱ Κίλικες ἐνόμιζον ἔθ. Hyp. l. 3. c. 24.

^d Apud Ægyptios & Lacedæmonios furari honorificum. Jol. Firm.

^e Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam quæ extra fines cujusque Civitatis sunt. Cæsar de Germanis, l. 6. de bello Gall. c. 23.

^f De Hispanis vide Plutarch. in vitâ Marii, p. 408.

^g Ibid. p. 154.

tain than is that of Seneca, *there is no Man (or Nation) which lives by Theft and Rapine*, ^h qui ad illa quæ furtis & latrociniiis consequuntur, non malint ratione bona pervenire, & potius illa invenire quam eripere, *who would not rather honestly have those things, than as the fruit of Theft, and would not rather find, than snatch them from another; which shews, saith he, that Virtue shines so bright in the Minds of Men, that they who will not follow it, must see it is the Voice of Nature*: And hence we find that in all civiliz'd Nations Theft was still punished either with ⁱ Infamy, or with Servitude, or with ^k double Restitution, or with Death, according as it was more or less pernicious; and even in Sparta, where it seems to have been allow'd in Boys to satisfy their Hunger, yet was it punished ^l with severe Stripes as often as the Thief was apprehended.

§. V. *Comm. 9th.* Lastly, Whereas the Christian Doctrine makes it a part of the New Creature, and of the Image to which

^h De Benef. l. 4. c. 17.

ⁱ Infamia & Servitude. Stob. Serm. 10. p. 133. Serm. 42. p. 292.

^k Θάνατος ἢ δίκην τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ κλέμματος. Arist. probl. §. 29. qu. 14.

^l Πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐπέβαλε πρὸ ἀπιστοσύνης. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 287.

Christianity renews us, to speak the truth one to another, and put away the lying Lip, threatening Damnation to the Man that loves or makes a lye, Eph. 4. 24, 29. Col. 3. 9. Rev. 22. 15. The Heathen Philosophers held this lawful when it was profitable for them, as owning the Rule of Menander, καῖτερον ἢ ἀληθές κακόν, a Lye is better than an hurtful truth; and that of Proclus, καὶ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν καῖτερον ὅσον τὸ ἀληθείας, good is better than truth; and of Darius in ^m Herodotus, ἐνθα γὰρ τι δεῖ καὶ ψάδῳ λέγειν λεγέσθω, when a lye will profit, let it be used; and that of Plato, he may lye who knows how to do it, ἐν δέοντι καιρῷ, in a fit season; for there is nothing decorous in truth, saith Maximus Tyrius, but when it is profitable, yea sometimes, saith he, καὶ ψάδῳ ὠνησεν ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἀληθές ἐβλάψεν, truth hurts, and a lye profits a Man. And to countenance this practice, both ⁿ Plato and the Stoics seem to have framed a Jesuitical distinction betwixt lying in words, and with assent to an untruth, which they called lying in the Soul; the first they held convenient for a Governour of a City against their Enemy, or for their

ⁿ L. 3. p. 191.

Τὴ ψυχῇ περὶ τὰ ὄντα ψάδεται πάντες μισοῦσι, τὸ δὲ ἐν λόφοις ψάδῳ πολεῖ καὶ τὸ χρησιμὸν, ὥστε μὴ ἀξιὸν εἶναι. De Rep. l. 2. p. 607. Τοῖς ἀρχαῖσι τὸ πόλεως περιψάδεται ἢ πολέμιων ἢ πολιτῶν ἐνεκα, l. 3. p. 611.

tain than is that of Seneca, *there is no Man (or Nation) which lives by Theft and Rapine*, ^h qui ad illa quæ furtis & latrociniiis consequuntur, non malint ratione bona pervenire, & potius illa invenire quam eripere, *who would not rather honestly have those things, than as the fruit of Theft, and would not rather find, than snatch them from another; which shews, saith he, that Virtue shines so bright in the Minds of Men, that they who will not follow it, must see it is the Voice of Nature*: And hence we find that in all civiliz'd Nations Theft was still punished either with ⁱ Infamy, or with Servitude, or with ^k double Restitution, or with Death, according as it was more or less pernicious; and even in *Sparta*, where it seems to have been allow'd in Boys to satisfy their Hunger, yet was it punished ^l with severe Stripes as often as the Thief was apprehended.

§. V. *Comm. 9th.* Lastly, Whereas the *Christian Doctrine* makes it a part of the *New Creature*, and of the Image to which

^h De Benef. l. 4. c. 17.

ⁱ Infamia & Servitude. Stob. Serm. 10. p. 133. Serm. 423 p. 292.

^k Θάνατος ἢ δίκην ἢ ἀξίας τῷ κλέμματι. Arist. probl. §. 29. qu. 14.

^l Πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐπέβαλε πρὸ ἀλισκομένης. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 287.

Christianity renews us, to speak the truth one to another, and put away the lying Lip, threatening Damnation to the Man that loves or makes a lye, Eph. 4. 24, 29. Col. 3. 9. Rev. 22. 15. The Heathen Philosophers held this lawful when it was profitable for them, as owning the Rule of Menander, κρείττον ἢ ἄληθές κακόν; a Lye is better than an hurtful truth; and that of Proclus, τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν κρείττον ὅστις τὴν ἀληθείαν, good is better than truth; and of Darius in ^m Herodotus, ἐνθα γὰρ τι δεῖ καὶ ψεῦδος λέγειν λεγέμεν, when a lye will profit, let it be used; and that of Plato, he may lye who knows how to do it, ἐν δέοντι καιρῷ, in a fit season; for there is nothing decorous in truth, saith Maximus Tyrius, but when it is profitable, yea sometimes, saith he, καὶ ψεῦδος ὠνησεν ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἄληθές ἐβλάπεν, truth hurts, and a lye profits a Man. And to countenance this practice, both ⁿ Plato and the Stoics seem to have framed a Jesuitical distinction betwixt lying in words, and with assent to an untruth, which they called lying in the Soul; the first they held convenient for a Governour of a City against their Enemy, or for their

^m L. 3. p. 191.

ⁿ Τὴν ψυχὴν περὶ τὰ ὅληα ψεύδεσσι πάντες μισοῦσι, τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ψεῦδος ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ χреσσιμον, ὥστε μὴ ἀξιον εἶναι λέγειν. De Rep. l. 2. p. 607. Τοῖς ἀρχαῖσι δὲ πόλεως περὶ ψεύδεσσι ἢ πολέμιων ἢ πολιῶν ἐνεκα, l. 3. p. 611.

good; it may be done, say the Stoics, καὶ τῇ συμφέροντι προέροισιν, καὶ κατ' ἄλλας οἰκονομίας τῇ βίῃ πολλὰς, in respect of advantage, and for many other offices of life; he may ὁ λείπει ψεύδεται, καὶ ψάλλεται, ἀλλὰ μὴ δ' ἁπαλύνει τὸ ψεύδεται λείπει, ψάλλεται δ' ὑπολαμβάνει ἁπάσι φάσι τ' ὅφον, tell a ly craftily, and for gain, but he must never embrace an untruth through ignorance, or assent to it, this being a reflection on their Wise-man, and a disparagement to his Wisdom, the other well consistent with his Honesty.

And yet they knew, by the Light of Nature, that *tollendum est ex rebus contrahendis omne mendacium*, no lye was to be used in Contracts; that the honest and wise Man should be ἀδελφύς free from all Falshood, and should do and speak nothing ψευδισμῶς, καὶ μετ' ὑποκρίσεως, in Falshood or with Hypocrisie: And all Men who consider the use of Words, must know they are designed only to be the Indication of our Minds, and consequently that when we do not speak according to our Minds we pervert the natural use of them.

And even all these things were recommended to them by their Gods, as they were represented by those Poets, from whom

° Stob. Ecl. Eth. p. 183.

° Cic. de Off. l. 3. n. 81.

° Anton. l. 2. §. 16, 17. l. 4. §. 49.

faith ^r Plutarch, we have received the opinions which obtain among us touching the Gods; for, as we have seen from Sextus Empyricus, that they were taught to thieve from the example of Mercury, and to lye from Jupiter, who might well wink at the Lyes of Lovers, when he himself was *Versipellis*, one who used all Wiles and lying Artifices, and turned himself into no less than twelve false shapes that he might satisfie his Lust; so, faith ^r Cicero, are the Gods introduced by the Poets as inflamed with Anger, prone to Wars, Fightings, Discords and Dissentions, Adulteries, Sodomy and Lust, to the highest degree.

S. VI. Lastly, Whereas Christianity designed there should be no Wars, not giving one direction how to manage them, but plainly doth suppose that all who bear the Name of Christians should live in perfect love, and follow peace with all men, and so makes good that saying of ^r Justin Martyr,

Ἡς ὅτι ἐν αἰσὶ θεῶν δόξης καὶ παντάπασιν ἡσημόνες καὶ δίκαιοι καλοὶ γενήσασιν ἡμῖν οἱ τὸ ποιεῖν, καὶ οἱ νομοθετοῦν, καὶ οἱ εὐλαβεῖν. *Amator. p. 763. C.*

Poeta & ira inflammatus & libidine furens induxerunt eos, feceruntque ut eorum bella, pugnas, praelia, vulne- que videremus, omnia præterea dissidia, discordias, effusas omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, & cum humano genere concubitus. *De Nat. Deorum, l. 1. n. 31.*

Ἀρσῶν ἐς αὐτὸν πρὸς εἰρήνην, πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπων. *Apol.*

We Christians do excel all Men in our inducements of them to a perfect peace one with another. It is evident from the perusal of the Laws and Constitutions of the Greeks, the Spartans, the Athenians, and the Romans, of the Writings of Plato and Aristotle, and of all who did then write of Government, that 'twas their chief concern to train up Men in War, *i. e.* to propagate their Dominions by the slaughter and destruction of other Nations; that upon this account they exposed those Children which were not fit for War; that they declared it their greatest Virtue, and the thing most worthy of reward to propagate their Conquests, and made them *Gods*, and worthy of the highest Veneration after death who died in such Wars. Now,

1st, Let us consider that opposition which all these Actions bore to those Attributes of divine Goodness, Love and Mercy to Mankind, to his Purity and Holiness, his Righteousness and Truth, in which it is our glory and happiness to be like him, by which we live that *life of God* from which the *Heathens* were alienated by those wicked Works, become *Partakers of the divine Nature*, and are created *after the image of God, in righteousness, holiness, and truth*, and by which we become the *Sons and Children of our heavenly Father*, and perfect, saith our Lord, *as he is perfect*, and

and
he
wi
sha
wh
us
our
he
such
stian
such
end
exce
high
that
to f
enjo
2
hum
to th
tred,
Tem
Barb
they
how
tery
Estat
dies,
and
how
Soul
thens

and so are fitted for communion with him here, and rendred meet to be partakers with him of happiness hereafter; and we shall easily discern that this *Christianity* which was reveal'd on purpose to engage us to be *holy as our God is holy, merciful as our heavenly Father is merciful, righteous as he is righteous*, and which presents to us such admirable Examples of all these *Christian* Virtues in our God and Saviour, and such inducements to glorifie God by our endeavour to be thus like him, is a most excellent Institution, worthy of God, and highly requisite to reduce the World into that temper which was absolutely requisite to fit them for communion with him, and enjoyment of him.

2dly, Let us consider how much this Inhumanity and murtherous Disposition tends to the ruin of Mankind, and how this Hatred, Enmity, contentious and revengeful Temper, disposeth Men to all manner of Barbarity and Michief they can do to those they malign and long to be reveng'd of; how this Impurity, Whoredom and Adultery tends naturally to the ruin of their Estates, their Reputation, and their Bodies, and gives them a Wound incurable, and a *Reproach that cannot be wiped off*; how all such fleshly Lusts *do war against the Soul*, are inconsistent, say the very *Heathens*, with all Virtue, and sink us into a

sensual and brutish State ; how plainly Theft and Rapine, Fraud and Oppression, and all injurious Dealing, tend to the subversion of all Mens Properties ; Untruth and Falshood to the perverting of the use of Words, and to the dissolution of all Commerce ; how Drunkenness conduceth to the impairing Mens Estates, the impoverishing their Families, the subversion of their Reason and Discretion, the ruin of the Body, and the destruction of the Soul ; and, lastly, that Wars are usually attended with all these Evils in a lump, being a Trade of Robbery and Slaughter, always attended with Drunkenness and Lewdness, Fraud and Stratagems.

And, on the other hand, let us consider the wonderful power of *Christianity*, when it is cordially embraced, to sheath the Sword, to still Contentions, and bind the Hand to its good Behaviour, to prevent all ways of being cruel to our Neighbour's Life, or prejudicial to his Affairs, Estate, and Fortune, or injurious to his good Name, and Honour ; and that it ^u frees the Heart from all Hatred and Malice, Envy, Rancor and Bitterness of Spirit, from evil Surmises and Suspensions ; the Tongue from Wrath, Clamor, Evil-speaking, reducing such Offences

^u Math. 5. 22. 1 Joh. 3. 15.

to that Commandment, which saith, *Thou shalt not kill*, because these evil Dispositions incline us to do hurt to those we hate, malign, or are angry with ; this Wrath too often begets those Quarrels which end in the destruction of our Brother's Life ; this Language renders him vile and despicable in the eyes of others, and so inclines Men to undervalue both his Life and his Concerns.

2dly, Again, it is not easie to recount those liberal provisions it hath made for Love and Charity, for Mercy, Pity, and Compassion, and whatsoever may endear my Brother to me, and draw forth all my Powers to assist him ; for it commands every Man to *love his Brother as himself*, to seek his Good, and shew him all that Kindness which he would expect or beg himself when he is under like necessity ; it bids us burn when others are afflicted, and *weep with those that weep*, that is, it bids us be as forward to relieve them under all their Pressures and Afflictions, as if their Sufferings were our own : Now, what can farther be required to our outward Happiness, in this World, than the security of what we enjoy at present from any hand of Violence, and the assurance of our Brother's help towards the enjoyment of the thing we want? *Anl,*

3dly, It is no less conducive to the public Good by the advancement of all those social Virtues which are so plainly requisite to the preservation, happiness, the quiet, and the comfort of Society, viz. Love and Charity, (of which I have discoursed already) righteous Dealing, Truth and Peace, And,

1st, It enjoins all Men *to deal with others as in like cases they judge reasonable they should be dealt with*; and so sets up in every Man's Breast an easie and a comprehensive Rule of Justice; so that a bare reflection on his own Sentiments, and an attendance to his own desires, will teach him all the duties of Justice and of Charity he owes to others.

2dly, It requires every Christian, *putting away lying, to speak the truth to his Neighbour, and tho' he promises to his hurt, not to vary from it, making all lying to be an indication that we have not yet put off the old Man, and truth a part of that divine Image to which we are renewed, and declaring that whosoever loveth or maketh a lye, shall be excluded from that Jerusalem which is above, and that all Liers shall be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone.*^w

^w Psal. 15. Col. 3. 9. Eph. 4. 24. Rev. 22. 15. — 21. 8.

3dly, It enjoins us to be at peace among our selves, to live in * peace, to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and as much as in us lies, to live peaceably with all Men : It represents peace as a fruit of the good Spirit, and a property of that Wisdom which is from above ; as one of those things in which the Kingdom of God doth chiefly consist , and which is requisite to render all our service acceptable to God ; as that which ought to rule in every Christian's Heart, and that which he stands bound to follow and pursue, as ever he expects to see the Face of God, and that which will derive the greatest Blessings on him ; *Blessed are the peace-makers, they shall be called the Sons of God,*

Add to this, lastly, the excellent provisions *Christianity* hath made to remove the causes and occasions of the contrary Evils, (1.) By giving such a relish of sublimer Bliss, as renders the Soul dead to all the trivial concerns of Earth, by declaring that the Friendship of this World is Enmity to God, and that if any Man loves the World, the love of the Father is not in him ; by inspiring us with that Contentment which allays the cravings of the covetous and

* 1 Theff. 5. 13. 2 Cor. 13. 11. Eph. 4. 3. Rom. 12. 18. Gal. 5. 22. Jam. 3. 17. Rom. 14. 17, 18. Col. 3. 15. Hebr. 12. 14. Math. 5. 9.

greedy Appetite, by transforming the *Christian* into Humility and Meekness, and so preventing the tumults and disturbance of the haughty Spirit, by ranking all that Strife, Contention and Division which disturbs the publick Peace, among those *fleshly lusts which they that do shall not inherit the Kingdom of God* : Lastly, By moulding the Soul into that simple, honest and sincere Deportment which cuts off all those flattering Addresses, and those false Pretences which bely the Thoughts and Conscience of the Speaker, and more than this it cannot do in order to our publick Weal, since that can never suffer but from unjust and treacherous, factious and turbulent, proud and aspiring, or worldly and rapacious Spirits.

Of the *purity from all filthiness of flesh and spirit* which *Christianity* requires, I have said so much already, that it is needless to add more. And now, from these Considerations, it must be easie to discern the Excellency of these *Christian* Precepts, and how happily conducing, how highly requisite the revelation of them was to the good Order and the publick Welfare of the *Heathen* World, so fill'd with contrary Principles, so deviating from the practice of all these excellent Prescriptions,

C H A P. IX.

The C O N T E N T S.

The Heathens failed in all the particular acts of Natural Religion: Prayer and Sacrifices were held by many Philosophers to be of no virtue to obtain the favour of God, §. 1. Their Faith was not an assent to a Divine Testimony, but to the delusions of Devils, and their Oracles, §. 2. They impaired that love, fear, and obedience, which was due to the Deity, Ibid. And contradicted all the Ends which Natural Religion must be designed to promote. §. 3. And which were excellently advanced by the Prescriptions of Christianity, Ibid.

THE Heathens being thus mistaken in their Objects, and thus exceeding faulty in the manner of their Worship, 'tis not to be expected that whilst they acted suitably to these false Opinions, and these evil Practices, they should do any other duty of Religion well, and agreeably to the mind of their Creator. For,

1st, Having so many false Objects of ther Worship from whom they thought that *all their* ^y *Blessings were derived*, they

^y Τῶν ἄλλων αὐτίον ἀσθεῶν πάντων ἡμῖν αὐτὸν (ἥλιον) γεγενῆσθαι πάντες ἀνὴρ ὁμολογῶμεν. Plat. Epin. p. 1006. A.

must

must tender their Prayers and their Thanksgivings to them for them, place their trust in them and their dependence on them, must fear and love them, as they conceiv'd they did them good, or were inclined to do them hurt, and so must rob the real Author of them of all these tributes due unto him; and their Obedience being the result of what their *Oracles, Priests, and Prophets*, who had established all their vile, barbarous, and ridiculous Customs, taught them to perform, they must be still employ'd in those Practices which were entirely inconsistent with all true Obedience and acceptable Service to him, and so must be both disobedient and unthankful to the great Author of their Beings. For to proceed to a particular Consideration of the Duties due to the Deity.

§. I. 1st, The *Pythagoreans*, saith ² D. *Laertius*, taught that Men should not pray for themselves, ὅτι τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὸ συμφέρον, *because they knew not what was profitable for them*: And ³ *Socrates* came near to this opinion when he pray'd himself and exhorted others to pray, ἀπλῶς τὰ ἀγαθὰ εἰδέναι, *only in general that God would give good things*, for the same reason; for both these Opinions in effect shew, that either they knew of nothing which was absolutely good, (as

² L. 8. p. 494.

³ Zenoph. Mem. l. 1. p. 571.

pardon of Sins, and preservation from them, and advancement in Piety and Virtue is) and therefore always fit to be requested; or else conceived with the *Stoicks* that these things might be obtained without divine Assistance; *Origen* adds, that if any Persons were to be brought before *Kings* and *Princes*, *ὅτι δόγματα*, for their Opinions, they should be, not the *Christians*, but the *Epicureans*, who denied the Providence, *καὶ οἱ τὸ θεῖον μὴ εἶναι φάσκοντες ἀνύειν τὰς εὐχὰς, καὶ τὰς ὡς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον δυσίας*, and the *Peripateticks*, who said, that *Prayers and Sacrifices offer'd to the Deity did profit nothing*; and tho' ^b *Aristotle* in his *Politicks* is forc'd to mention ^γ *τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμελείαν*, a regard to the Divinity, because it might have been a capital Offence to exclude all Deities from a Commonwealth, or say it was in vain to pray to them; and in his ^c *Morals* he admits that the Gods might have a care of humane Affairs: Yet since he begins this with an *if*, and concludes it with an *ὡς ὅρα*, as it may seem, and the contrary follows with so bright an evidence from the avowed Doctrine of *Aristotle*, ^d *καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου ἀναρρέων τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρόνοιαν, καὶ τὸ χεῖρον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τὸ θεῖον*, and the *Peripateticks* who destroy'd all Providence to-

^b De Rep. l. 7. c. 8.
adv. Cels. l. 3. p. 156.

^c L. 10. c. 9.

^d *Origen*

wards us, and all relation of God to Man, by confining Providence to the Heavens and celestial Beings; and seeing *Origen* doth charge the *Peripateticks* as well as the *Epicureans* with Hypocrisie, in their compliance with those who did both Pray and offer Sacrifice to the Images of the Gods, I see no cause to doubt the truth of this assertion of that learned Father, who was so thoroughly acquainted with all the Doctrines of the most celebrated *Philosophers*, and so sincere, that I never yet found him guilty of laying a false imputation to their charge. This also follows in great measure from the Doctrine of the *Stoics*, who thought it needless to pray to the Gods for Virtue and Felicity, as having that in their own power; which opinion, saith *Cotta*, was so general, that no Man ever pray'd to the Gods for Wisdom, Virtue, or Felicity; and *Maximus Tyrius* enquires τίς ἀγαθὸς βούλει δεῖν προσευχάμενος ἀρετῇ ἔχων, what good Man, having Virtue, will pray to the Gods for Felicity? And the inexorable Fate which they maintain'd, doth absolutely destroy the use of Prayer and Sacrifices, for that, saith the same *Max. Tyrius*, being ἀδύνατον καὶ ἀμετέωρον, ungovernable and immutable, must render Prayer ridiculous, &c.

* P. 375.

† Orat. 30. p. 298.

‡ Ibid. p. 297.

τοῖς δεομένοις δίδωσι, *because it giveth nothing to the Indigent,* ⁿ he adds, that Prayer is needless even on supposition of a Providence; for he that prays, saith he, is either worthy to obtain what he prays, or he is not, ⁱ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἀξίᾳ τῶν ἐκείνων, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἀξίᾳ, if he be worthy he will obtain it tho' he do not pray, nor will his neglect to do so render him unworthy, yea, μὴ ἐνοχλῶν τυχεῖν ἀξιώτερος, he will be more worthy, because he doth not trouble God with his importunity; but if he be unworthy he will get nothing by his Prayer, but will be more unworthy for molesting God with his Petitions. Thus did he argue, not considering that Prayer is highly reasonable in it self, and beneficial to us; for it tends naturally to beget within us a continual sense of our own impotency and insufficiency to obtain any Blessings without divine Assistance, and so to keep us humble, and in continual dependence upon God for all the Blessings which we want: It also doth inform us how much we are obliged to him for the free Collation of his choicest Blessings, and so excites us to thanksgiving for them, and makes us naturally to enquire, *what we shall render to the Lord for all his benefits?* Moreover, by the importunity we use in the procuring of them,

ⁿ P. 299.

ⁱ P. 294, 295.

we are convinced of their worth, and so induced more to prize them, and this earnest seeking of them doth improve our spiritual Appetites, and by conversing thus with Heaven our Hearts are raised above earthly things; and, lastly, the conditions of obtaining our Petitions being these, That *we do not regard iniquity in our hearts*, but are fully resolved to depart from it. (2.) That we do uprightly resolve and purpose to be doers of his Will, and therefore beg his assistance to strengthen us against temptations to Sin, and to enable us to do it. (3.) That we be just and honest, and ready to repair the Injuries that we have done to others. And, lastly, That we have Hearts free from Wrath, and full of Charity and Mercy to our Brother, and as ready to forgive as we expect to be forgiven. These, I say, being the conditions of an acceptable Prayer, the due performance of this Duty is so highly instrumental to purifie our Hearts from Sin, and to engage us to the performance of our Duty both to God and Man, that by laying this command upon us, and letting us know he will derive his Mercies on us only in answer to our Prayers thus qualified, God acteth suitably not only to Wisdom, but to the goodness of his Providence, and is as kind a Father to us when he requires us to ask, as when he answers our Requests. And
 whereas

whereas * *M. Tyrius* adds, that μεταλιθεαδς κ' μεταλινώσκειν, to change and to repent, is not suitable to a good Man, and much less to the Deity, and so it must be a mistake to think the Gods are flexible, and may by Prayers and Sacrifices be induced to change their minds; and *Plato* represents this opinion of their *Priests*, as that which did induce Men to continue in their Injustice, as hoping ἑαυτοῖς that *the Gods might be appeased with gifts*: I confess it's very absurd to think that we can hope to bribe God with our gifts to vary from the eternal Rules of Righteousness, this being to impeach his Justice; or to move him by our Arguments, as if we could suggest to him something he did not know, or had not well considered; or incline him to what he is unwilling, by fair Speeches and Importunity; this being to look upon him rather as a Man who changeth without cause, than as an unchangeable God, who cannot vary from the just methods of his Government to gratifie our Importunity: But then this doth not render our Petitions fruitless, or our Prayers unnecessary, but only makes it necessary to the success of our Addresses, that there should be a change in us; in our Affections, from a love, to an hatred of every evil way,

* P. 294.

from a dislike to an approbation, of the ways of Piety; in our Wills, from a perverse and refractory, to a Mind ready and willing to obey God's Precepts; and then that God who is immutable will therefore be disposed to hear us, for he is unchangeably willing to fulfil the rational desires of them that fear him, and give assistance to every Soul that uprightly desires to serve him.

2dly, Thanksgiving must be entirely destroy'd by all those Sects which denied either that there was any Providence, or that it reached to our Affairs on Earth: And (2.) By those Doctrines which made all the results of it necessary; and in the highest imports of it, it was impaired by them who thought we only were beholden to it for things indifferent, and which might be not good, but hurtful to us. To proceed to the internal acts of Worship.

§. II. 3dly, Their Faith, as it doth properly relate to a divine Revelation, was so far from being an assent to a divine Testimony, that it was only an assent to the delusions of the Devil inspiring his mad Prophets, or speaking in his Oracles, and so 'twas only an assent to the Testimony of the Father of Lyes: As it is by the Apostle said to be *the expectation of things hoped for*, we have seen how the hopes of future Recompences

compences was stiled by the Heathens, *μυθώδης ἐλπίς*, a *fabulous hope*; how uncertain the *Philosophers* were after all their searches touching these Objects of our Hope: And, lastly, as it relateth to our trust in God as a sure refuge, and a firm support in all our Dangers and Calamities, this was extremely weakned by their grand Objection against Providence, arising from those Evils which beset good Men, to which they were unable to give a satisfactory Answer; and hence *Velleius* in *Cicero* is forced to break off his Discourse upon that subject, *ne auctoritatem videretur afferre peccandi*, lest it should minister a Licence to Men to sin; and ^m others so exaggerated the Miseries of humane Life, as to conclude, that *Death or a short Life was one of the best and greatest gifts God had vouchsafed to Mankind.*

4thly, The love of God, as it consists in an high valuation of him for his divine Excellencies, a choice of him above all things as our chiefest Good, and so a preference of him, and adherence to him above all other objects of our love, so is it visible, (1.) That all they who denied a

¹ De Nat. Deor. l. 3. n. 64.

^m O ignaros malorum suorum quibus non mors ut optimum inventum naturæ laudatur, &c. Hæc est inquam quæ efficit ut nasci non sit supplicium. Sen. Consol. ad Marciam, cap. 20.

Providence concern'd in our Affairs, deprived us of all grounds of this affection to him; for let him be never so excellent in himself, if I can be no better for him, or reap no advantage by his Excellencies, I can have little reason to love him who loves not me, and from whose Excellencies I can expect no benefit. (2.) 'Tis also evident that they who made created and insensate Beings or evil Spirits, Gods, and owned that all their Blessings were received from them, (as *Plato* speaketh of the Sun,) must rob God of the affection due to him for his Excellencies, and his Goodness, by ascribing that to other Beings either incapable of, or unwilling to do us good, which is the chief foundation of that affection which we owe to the true God. And, (3.) That they impair'd our love to him, who made him to have no immediate intercourse with us, but to abandon us to the care of Demons, and to the Souls of dead Men; for the less we think we are regarded by him, the less will our affection be to him. And, (4.) That they who thought we lay under an inexorable Fate, which render'd all our actions necessary, must take off our affections from him, as being insufficient to rescue us from any of those Evils to which this Fate subjects us. And, lastly, That they owned so many evil and pernicious Deities, from whose malignity this
God

God either would not, or could not, deliver us, must in great measure take off our affection from him, and also own they had so many Deities whom they might have too much cause to dread, but had no cause to love.

5thly, Whereas the fear and reverence of God is such an humble, awful, and ingenuous regard to the divine Nature, as rendreth us unwilling to do any thing which may offend or argue our contempt of him, this being founded upon his Power and his Goodness, 'tis easie to perceive, (1.) That tho' they might have that great dread of all their evil and pernicious Deities which tended to raise in them superstitious and frightful apprehensions of them, yet could they have no filial fear of them, nor any ingenuous regard towards them. (2.) That the opinion which so generally obtained among *Philosophers*, that a good God could not be angry with them, or do them any hurt, was also destructive of this fear and reverence, because we cannot reasonably think we can offend him by any thing we can do, who is never displeased with us, or rationally fear him who will only do us good; for, as *Seneca* saith, *furor est metuere salutaria*, 'tis madness to be afraid of what is only salutary. And as this Doctrine makes it madness, so the denial of a Providence makes it needless to

fear him who will do nothing to us ; and the introduction of Fate makes it fruitless to fear him, because upon that supposition, no caution can avoid, no power alter any thing which may befall us.

6thly, To proceed to the duty of active Obedience to the will of God, it must be own'd that they made it a great duty, *ἔπειτα, ταῦτα, ὁμοιωθῆναι τῷ Θεῷ*, to obey the Will, follow the Conduct, and imitate the Perfections of the Deity ; but then when we consider what vile things the *Poets* had said of their Gods, and add to this that of *Velleius*, that *what the Poets had said of them, were non multo absurdiora not much more absurd than what the Philosophers had taught concerning them*, and that they had themselves established all that vile worship of them which had obtain'd every where to all the vulgar Deities ; to imitate or to obey and follow their Conduct, as they were by their *Priests* and *Oracles* directed to do, was to be guilty of the worst of Crimes. Add to this, that to follow God, according to the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, was only to make a Virtue of necessity, it being only to do as the Dog does that is tied to the Cart's tail, to follow because he must, or as *Seneca's* wise Man, *effugere*

necessitatem quia vult quod ipsa coactura est,
 to avoid necessity by doing what he knows
 he must do whether he will or no; and
 then, where is the iniquity in choosing to
 do the evil which he must also do were he
 never so much unwilling, and in doing
 which he doth as truly ἐπεὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ follow
 the eternal and immutable Decrees of their
 God, as doth the virtuous Man? And
 tho' the *Philosophers* spake great things and
 good things of being like the Gods in do-
 ing good, in acts of love and mercy, for-
 bearing and forgiving Injuries, yet their
 general opinion, that the Deity could not
 be angry, and would inflict only medicinal
 Chastisements, tended not only to subvert all
 capital Punishments, but to the encourage-
 ment of Vice in others, and to beget in us,
 by a pretended imitation of him, a fond
 Lenity, pernicious to Servants, Children,
 and Subjects.

Lastly, To give them their due, they
 spake very excellent and magnificent things
 of Passive Obedience, and acquiescing in
 the conduct of Providence, so that even
 the *Christian* Doctrine seems chiefly to excel
 them only in two things, viz. The exam-
 ple of it in our blessed Lord, and the en-
 couragements it affords us to it from the
 assistance of the Holy Spirit, and an eter-
 nal and exceeding recompence of all we
 suffer for the sake of Righteousness; but

then they spoiled all this by their general Doctrine of the lawfulness of *Self-murder* when any great Disasters and Calamities befel them, and by their usual recourse to it in such cases; for this shew'd their want of Patience under the hand of God, their want of Fortitude under Afflictions, and of acquiescence in the Will of God, and their displeasure at the dispensations of his Providence, and even their contradictions to their own Rules and Doctrines; for if God, by whose Providence these things befel them, neither did, nor would hurt them, why were they so disgusted? If all their Afflictions were salutary and medicinal, why did they so refuse their Physick? Why were they so afraid of what was salutary? So ready to withdraw themselves from what would do them good? If their wise Man must be still happy under all the vicissitudes of Fortune, why should he chuse to put an end to his own happiness? And if it were his Wisdom only to desire what was in his power to obtain and to preserve, whatever might befal him, why was he so disgusted at that which never thwarted his desires?

§. III. Now since all that natural Religion could be designed to promote and teach, was,

1st, The worship of that Deity, and of him alone, who is the true and proper Object of all religious Worship ; this being by consent of *Heathens* an act of Gratitude and Justice due to him on the account of his divine Excellencies and beneficial Influences, and therefore not to be neglected without great Ingratitude, nor given to another without great Injustice in robbing God of that which is his right.

2^{dly}, The performance of that Worship in such a manner as is most suitable to his Nature, or to the Excellencies and the Perfections of the Deity, and to his holy Will, and so most proper to obtain the two great ends of all religious Worship, *viz.* the promotion of God's Glory, and the obtaining of his Blessing, Assistance and Protection. And,

3^{dly}, The doing this in all the parts and the concernments of religious Worship, which employ either the inward or the outward Man, the Body or the Soul, which being both derived from him, we must stand bound to glorifie him with. And since I have already shew'd, that all these things were by the Sentiments of the *Philosophers*, and by the Customs, Practices, and religious Rites, which had obtain'd generally among the *Heathens*, wholly overthrown, or much impaired, and that all the inducements to Piety were either question'd

stoned or denied by their Wife-men. Hence it is easie to discern how excellent, beneficial and necessary that Revelation was which reduced Men to the only Object of religious Worship, and taught them how to perform this Worship in a due and acceptable manner, and gave them admirable directions how to perform every part of it most to God's Glory and our highest benefit, and the most powerful inducement so to do. For,

1st, It requires Prayer should be so performed as to be still attended with those dispositions which fit us for the divine Favour, and dispose us for our duty both to God and Man, as hath been formerly observ'd, and then affords us such an humble confidence, that whatsoever we ask according to his Will, with a true willingness to do our duty, and with a fervency and a concernment suitable to the great value of the Blessings we desire, we shall receive; and therefore so as to free us from all doubtfulness and all anxiety of Mind concerning any things we want, because we ask them of that heavenly Father, who knows all our needs, and is more willing than any earthly Parent to give good things to his Children.

2^{ly}, It enjoins that Thanksgiving, which as it presupposes a due observation, a constant remembrance, and an high valuation of

of divine Blessings, so it naturally tends to produce a grateful acknowledgment, and an affecting sense of them, disposing us to a readiness and a sincere endeavour to make some suitable returns to the God of all our Mercies: And this as,

1st, It is a duty very necessary to promote those great and glorious ends the divine Wisdom hath designed in all his Dispenfations, *viz.* his Glory in the World; for whereas other Duties do more remotely tend to ascribe Glory to God, Thanksgiving most expressly doth it, it being the whole business of the thankful Man to celebrate the divine Praise, and give to God the Glory of his Goodness. So,

2^{dly}, It is a very advantageous Duty, as being the best method to secure, to sanctifie and encrease the Blessings we enjoy, and also the best expedient to procure fresh Mercies at God's hand, because it shews they are not lost upon us, but are improved to those ends for which his Wisdom did vouchsafe them. And,

3^{dly}, It is a very pleasant Duty; for 'tis the experience and lively sense of divine Goodness which moves us to offer this spiritual Sacrifice, as the return due to the author of this Love and Mercy; so that this duty cannot be perform'd till first the Soul be filled with an affecting sense of divine Bounty, and hath *tasted that the Lord*

is gracious ; it being the Heart enlarged with the sense of Mercies, which makes the Tongue break forth into returns of Praises : 'Tis this which sweetens Life and makes it comfortable to us ; which preserves us from that inward grief of Heart, sadness and heaviness of Spirit, and discontent which melancholy Spirits are apt to fall into, since the performance of this duty naturally tends to fill our Hearts with gladness, and our Tongues with joy, from the consideration of a Providence so kind to us, and still watching over us for good, And,

3dly, It directs us to live continually in that fear of God ° which purifies the Heart from all prevalent affection to Sin, and cleanseth it from all filthiness of Spirit, from evil Thoughts, from lustful Motions and Desires, from Discontent and inward Murmurings, from Pride and Covetousness, from Envy, rancor of Spirit, and whatsoever else defiles the Soul, and so doth fit it to be an Habitation of God thro' the Spirit : And, (2.) Which lays restraints upon us from indulging to any sinful Courses ; for *by the fear of the Lord Men depart from evil*, Prov. 16. 6. Which, (3.) doth dispose us to sincere obedience to the Laws of

• Psal. 19. 9. 2 Cor. 7. 1.

God, that so we may not lose his favour, incur his displeasure, or be deprived of those inestimable Blessings he hath promised to them that fear him; for *he that feareth the Lord will not disobey his word, and he that loveth him will keep his ways*, Ecclus.

2. 21.

4^{thly}, It commands that love of God with all our Hearts, Soul, and Mind, which obligeth us to have an higher value for his favour than for all other enjoyments whatsoever, and to cleave to him above all things, and so to abandon any Pleasure or Enjoyment which stands in competition with him, to resist all temptations to forfeit his Affection, and to endure any Losses or Afflictions that we may retain it, as knowing he is worthy of our highest love by reason of his excellent Perfections, his near Relation, and his immense Goodness to us, and will most certainly reward all our sincere affection to him with the most lasting and the greatest Blessings.

5^{thly}, It obligeth us to yield sincere obedience to those Commands which are all holy, just and good, and the result of excellent Wisdom directing us to what is highly suitable to our Reason and satisfactory to our Minds, which we can reflect upon with pleasure and humble confidence in God, and so in keeping them there is great reward; for if Heaven it self can
make

make us happy, and the eternity of that State can add to its Felicity, both are entail'd upon, and will be the sure fruit of this obedience. And,

6thly, It requires us entirely to commit our selves in well-doing to the conduct of divine Providence, with patience to submit to, and cheerfully to acquiesce in all its Dispensations, as being well assured that our heavenly Father knows what condition is best for us; that his Faithfulness will not permit him to lay upon us more than he will enable us to bear; that he designs all Evils that befall us for our spiritual good; knows how to make them serviceable to that end, and stands obliged by promise to make them all conduce to it; and, lastly, hath assured us that *these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, shall work for us an exceeding and eternal weight of glory*. So excellently contriv'd is every part of our religious Worship by this Dispensation, for our Comfort here, and our eternal Happiness hereafter.

C H A P. X.

The C O N T E N T S.

From what hath been discoursed it is inferr'd,
 (1st,) *That God by introducing Christiani-*
ty, hath demonstrated the folly of the Wis-
dom of the World, as is shew'd by a brief
Recapitulation of what hath been said, §. 1.
 (2dly,) *The truth of Christian Faith is*
proved from the consideration of the means
by which it was so speedily propagated thro'
the World, §. 2.

NOW the only Inferences I shall make
 from this Discourse are these two:

1st, That hence we may learn the truth
 of the Assertion of St. Paul, that God did
 by this Dispensation *μωρανεν* demonstrate
 the folly of the Wisdom of the World, in
 that,

1st, When the World through Wisdom
 knew not God, when their Wise-men were
 groping after him, as they who are in
 darkness use to do; when, as Plutarch
 saith, they were *ιλιγγιώντες* in a Vertigo con-
 cerning him, and spake still of him, saith
 Porphyry, *ἐν σοιχασμῷ*, by conjecture, con-
 fessing they had nothing certain either of
 the Names, or Nature of the Gods, and
 so

so upon the matter were *without God in the World*; when, lastly, they who had attain'd to some knowledge of a Creator of the World, yet did not worship him as God, but plaid the Hypocrites in Religion, neither converting any single Person from his Idolatry in worshipping them *who by Nature were no Gods*, nor daring themselves to recede from it, but chusing rather to comply with it themselves, and to establish in the World the Worship of that whole rabble of ignoble Deities which had obtain'd in it; when, I say, it was thus with them, he sent poor Fishermen, who neither had any Philosophy to instruct them, nor any Eloquence to persuade Men, nor any Power to give authority to their Doctrine, nor any Wisdom to contrive how they should manage their Affairs, nor any skill in Disputation, nor any Sophistry to impose upon the World, to make such admirable Discoveries both of the Nature and all the glorious Attributes of God, the Unity, the Power, Wisdom, Justice, Truth, Goodness and Mercy, of the Deity, which all the Heathen Wisdom was never able to attain to; and so effectually confirm'd what they deliver'd to the World, as to engage Men every where to renounce their former Idolatry, and turn from their Idols to the worship of the living and true God alone, and by this sudden

sudden and entire conversion of those who heard them candidly, and with an equal and unprejudic'd Mind, shew'd that the Doctrines of Faith were *ἡ ἀρχαία ἀποστολική ἀρετή* (Cavallosovia), suitable to the common notions of Mankind from the beginning.

2dly, Whereas the Philosophy of the *Epicureans* and *Peripateticks* taught Men absolutely to deny any Providence concern'd in our Affairs; the *Academicks* and *Pyrrhonists* that there was no reason to believe it; the *Stoicks*, *Platonists*, and *Pythagoreans*, to own only such a Providence as introduced and established the most gross Idolatry, and all the vile and cruel Customs which had obtain'd in the Heathen World, or was attended with such a chain of Causes, such an inexorable Fate as render'd all our actions necessary, and so not worthy of reward or punishment, and therefore only tended to render Men either more Superstitious, or Profane: These poor, ignoble, weak, and despised Fishermen and Tent-makers, whom God had chosen to shame their Wisdom, and baffle and confound their Strength, gave us such admirable Ideas and excellent Discoveries of a

* Orig. adv. Cels. l. 3. p. 135.

so upon the matter were *without God in the World*; when, lastly, they who had attain'd to some knowledge of a Creator of the World, yet did not worship him as God, but plaid the Hypocrites in Religion, neither converting any single Person from his Idolatry in worshipping them *who by Nature were no Gods*, nor daring themselves to recede from it, but chusing rather to comply with it themselves, and to establish in the World the Worship of that whole rabble of ignoble Deities which had obtain'd in it; when, I say, it was thus with them, he sent poor Fishermen, who neither had any Philosophy to instruct them, nor any Eloquence to persuade Men, nor any Power to give authority to their Doctrine, nor any Wisdom to contrive how they should manage their Affairs, nor any skill in Disputation, nor any Sophistry to impose upon the World, to make such admirable Discoveries both of the Nature and all the glorious Attributes of God, the Unity, the Power, Wisdom, Justice, Truth, Goodness and Mercy, of the Deity, which all the Heathen Wisdom was never able to attain to; and so effectually confirm'd what they deliver'd to the World, as to engage Men every where to renounce their former Idolatry, and turn from their Idols to the worship of the living and true God alone, and by this sudden

sudden and entire conversion of those who heard them candidly, and with an equal and unprejudic'd Mind, shew'd that the Doctrines of Faith were $\rho \tau \kappa \alpha \iota \nu \alpha \iota \varsigma \epsilon \nu \nu \alpha \iota \sigma \iota \varsigma$ ἀρχαῖαι (ἀνατολὴν ἔχουσαι), suitable to the common notions of Mankind from the beginning.

2dly, Whereas the Philosophy of the *Epicureans* and *Peripateticks* taught Men absolutely to deny any Providence concern'd in our Affairs; the *Academicks* and *Pyrrhonists* that there was no reason to believe it; the *Stoicks*, *Platonists*, and *Pythagoreans*, to own only such a Providence as introduced and established the most gross Idolatry, and all the vile and cruel Customs which had obtain'd in the Heathen World, or was attended with such a chain of Causes, such an inexorable Fate as render'd all our actions necessary, and so not worthy of reward or punishment, and therefore only tended to render Men either more Superstitious, or Profane: These poor, ignoble, weak, and despised Fishermen and Tent-makers, whom God had chosen to shame their Wisdom, and baffle and confound their Strength, gave us such admirable Ideas and excellent Discoveries of a

* Orig. adv. Cels. l. 3. p. 135.

Providence, as tended clearly to demonstrate God's manifest Wisdom, and his rich Goodness to Mankind, and his design of freeing them from the former bondage they were in to Sin, and the Corruptions which were in the World through Lust, and to render them pure, holy, just, and true, full of the highest Charity and Mercy to all Men, and so partakers of the divine Nature, and of that Life of God from which the World was alienated by wicked Works; and so to fit them for eternal Happiness in the enjoyment of himself, as gave them just assurance this Providence watch'd over them for good that feared him, and would make all their Afflictions minister to that end, and *as their outward Trouble did abound, would make their inward Consolations to abound much more*; and did and said this with so much evidence and conviction, and such a triumph of the truth, as made these Doctrines to be readily embrac'd by Myriads; and gave such sensible experience of these things as rendred the generality of *Christians* examples of the highest Purity, and caused the World to stand amazed at their unshaken Faith, their admirable Patience, and their great Joy under the sharpest Tryals.

And whereas Providence was by them wholly committed to the management of
Demons

Demons and *Genii*, i. e. to the Spirits of the Air, of which, saith Scripture, *Satan is the Prince*; or to the Souls of dead Men, and so to them who neither had Ability, nor Wisdom, nor Will to do us good; according to the *Christian* Doctrine the whole Scheme of Providence is committed to him who is the Wisdom of the Father, and hath all power over all things in Earth and Heaven in his hands, and to that Spirit who is the eternal Spirit, and the power of God, and knoweth all things, and so to them who having a divine Nature must be exceeding able to accomplish all these things; which, by the way, gives one good reason for the more express Revelation of the sacred Trinity under that Gospel, which was to confound all Idolatry, and to give a sovereign Remedy against it, which as it formerly was in good measure done by the *Shechinah*, as our Learned *Primate* hath with great evidence demonstrated, so it is done more fully by putting all things under the conduct of the holy *Jesus*, and sending of the holy Spirit to be still present with us for consolation and assistance, and so to render needless and plainly overthrow the vain Imaginations so rooted in the *Heathen* World touching the government of all things by *Demons* and by *Genii*.

3dly, Whereas the Philosophy of the World has rendred it uncertain whether the Soul subsisted after the dissolution of the Body, whereas it had argu'd and laugh'd Men out of all fear of future Punishments, and rendred all their expectations of Rewards and Blessings in a future Life precarious and uncertain, and could attain to no knowledge of the true excellency and duration of them; this *Life and Immortality hath been brought to light by the Gospel*; and the eternal Misery of the incorrigibly Wicked so clearly is propounded, and by such powerful Miracles and Demonstrations of the holy Spirit so confirm'd, as to establish in the *Christian* such a strong and lasting Faith, as Time and Vice, tho' most concern'd to do it, hath not been able to deface; and whereas all the Notions of these things invented by *Philosophers, Priests, and Poets*, proved ineffectual to work any considerable reformation in the Lives of Men, this Grace of God which brought the tydings of this great Salvation hath effectually taught Myriads, *denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts, to live soberly, and godly, and righteously in this present world, in expectation of this blessed hope, and made them stedfast and immoveable under all Afflictions, and even Death it self, as rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.*

Lastly,

Lastly, Whereas the Doctrines and Sentiments of the *Heathens* had much impair'd or wholly overthrown the Principles and Practice of all moral Virtue, and fill'd the World with Wars and Slaughter, Hatred and Revenge, Theft and Rapine, Falshood and Lying, and all manner of Impurities; these Fishermen have deliver'd such admirable Precepts and Prescriptions for the advancement of all kinds of Charity and Justice, Purity and Temperance, Peace and Quiet, Truth and Sincerity, which were they cordially embraced and practiced suitably, would render all Mankind partakers of a present Happiness.

Infer. 2. 2dly, From the speedy propagation of this Doctrine by such means through the World so indisposed to receive it, I conclude that it was propagated by divine assistance, and therefore was assuredly the Revelation of the Will of God; for that a Doctrine ^a so new, and therefore so reproach'd; so requisite as was preten-

^a Τὶ δὴ ποτε καινὸν τὸτο λόγος ἢ ἐπιήδδμα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ ἐπὶ πρότερον. Diognet. apud Just. p. 492. Νῦν ἄρα μὲν τοσούτον αἰῶνα ὁ θεὸς ἀνευνήσθη δικαιῶσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπων βίον πρότερον ὅτι ἡμετέρι. Cell. apud Orig. p. 165. Εἰς τὸ δεῖξαι ἡμᾶς δεῖξαι γὰρ ἐπὶ μυριάδας. Julian apud Cyril. l. 3. p. 106. l. 4. p. 138.

ded for the promotion of God's Glory and the Welfare of Mankind, and yet *reserved for the last Times*, and the declining Ages of the World, as if God had till then forgot them; a Doctrine so inconsistent with, and so destructive of all other ways of Worship, and whose *Heathen* Professors were obliged to look upon the *Heathen* World, upon their former selves, and the whole Race of their Progenitors, as the most vile Idolaters; yea were obliged to detest as *Devils* those whom they had hitherto adored as *Gods*; a Doctrine so incredible in its Author, his Virgin Birth, the obscureness of his Parentage, in the meanness of his outward Condition, in his reception and treatment from the governing part of that Nation where he first appeared, in all those Circumstances which are most considered by the generality of Mankind, he being contemn'd, oppos'd, reviled, whipt, and condemn'd as the worst of Malefactors by the Chief *Priests* and *Scribes* and *Rulers* of the People, and made to suffer a painful and accursed Death, which so disparaged his Doctrine both to

· · Ο υμέτερον λεγόμενον χειρὸς ἀτιμῶν καὶ ἀδόξῶν
 γέγονεν ὡς καὶ ἐσχάτη κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ θεῷ πεποιθεῖν.
 Trypho apud Just. p. 249. See the Note on 1 Cor. 1. 23.

Jews

Jews and *Gentiles*, that to the one it became a *stumbling Block*, and by the other was accounted *Foolishness*; a Doctrine so incredible in that Article which is alledg'd to take off the scandal of the Cross, and is indeed the Basis of the *Christian's* Hope, viz. the Resurrection of Christ from the dead, as a pledge and earnest of the future Resurrection of all that believe in him, that it was mock'd at by the *Gentiles* as a thing impossible and without example; a Doctrine so repugnant to every Sect of *Philosophers* in those Opinions for which they most eagerly contended; to the *Epicureans* conceit of an idle unconcern'd God; to the *Peripateticks* confinement of Providence to the Heavens; to the *Platonists* Dæmons and community of Wives; to the *Pythagoreans* transmigration of Souls; to the *Stoicks* corporeal God and inexorable Fate. Again, it was a Doctrine opposite to the Decrees of *Emperors* and the whole *Heathen* World against the introduction of new ways of Worship; a Doctrine which calls for self-denial, love of Enemies, a life of highest Purity, and deadness to the Plea-

* Ἀποπύουον αἶμα καὶ ἀδωιάζον. Cels. ap. Orig. p. 240. Theoph. ad Autol. l. 1. p. 77. C. Arnob. l. 2. p. 51. Minut. p. 11. Laët. l. 7. c. 22.

tures and Enjoyments of the World, and for a willingness to bear the Cross, and suffer all the Miseries of Life and cruel Death, and this only in hopes of future Blessings from a crucified Jesus; a Doctrine which thwarted the Principles of Education, the Passions, Humours and Affections, the Inclinations, Customs, Prescriptions and Superstitions of the World, which had so long overspread them, and therefore rendred the practice of it as difficult as the belief; a Doctrine which for these causes was so violently contradicted both by the Zeal and Malice of the *Jew*, and the Philosophy of the *Gentiles*, which it condemned as folly; by the Sword of *Emperors*, still glutted with the Blood of *Christians*; and by the *Rhetoricians* Topicks of Persuasion, and all the Machinations both of Men and Devils; I say it is not to be conceived that such a Doctrine should by the means of simple and illiterate Men, subject to many thousand Miseries, and destitute not only of that Eloquence which was so taking in those Days, but of all visible Protection from that *Jesus* for whom they suffer'd, and void of all that might commend them to the World, or which might fit them either to instruct their Proselytes, or to convince their Adversaries; I say, that such a Doctrine should

should by the means of Persons so unqualified spring forth, and shoot like Lightning from East to West; cancel the Ceremonies of the Jew, confound the Scepticism, and baffle all the Wisdom of the Greeks; that it should instruct the rudeness of the Barbarians in the sublimest Mysteries, and change their savage Customs into Christian Charity and Humility; that it should suddenly usurp the name of the prevailing Doctrine, as *Porphry* and others call it, and spring up as it were at once, saith *Origen*; that it should shackle even the Prince of Darkness, and make his Kingdom fall like Lightning from the Skies; that it should subdue by Sufferings, and make the Scepter bow to the Cross; that it should conquer the most civiliz'd part of the World in less time than others take to travel over it; a World so rivetted by Laws and Customs, and so enslaved by Mulcts and Penalties to its ancient and therefore venerable Superstitions, so enthralld to the Vassalage of Satan, and overgrown in Wickedness, and so impa-

Ὅτι τις ἡλίω βολή, &c. Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 3. ἡ κεφαλὴ σαδιδάχη. Porph. apud Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 10. Valef. in Euseb. p. 62, 63. Julian. Misopog. p. 99. Ἔθνεσ χριστιανῶν ὡς τεχθέντες εἰσάπαξ. Orig. in Cels. l. 8. p. 405.

tient of Disturbance ; I say, that such a Doctrine should convert such a World, by such unlikely means, having no heavenly Power engaged to assist it, but rather to confound it, if it were a Cheat, and having no other thing to be alledged by its Assertors for their attempt to do this, but the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and the performance of their Saviour's Promise, that *he would be with them, and give them a Mouth and Wisdom which all their Adversaries should not be able to gainsay*, is sure a thing incredible, a very Prodigy of Prodiges.

This Argument depends on such Principles as are confirmed to us by Reason, and Experience, *viz.*

1st, That the stronger the Prejudice is, the stronger must the Power be which overcomes it.

2^{dly}, That a new Doctrine which stands obnoxious to many Prejudices both of the Judgment and Affections, and which contains many things which seem to render it incredible to the one, and many more which render it unpleasant to the other, is most unlikely to prevail upon the World in opposition to all other Doctrines.

3dly, That Men are not easily induced to reject those Principles which they received from their Education, but are still backward to admit new Faiths, to confess their Errors, and condemn themselves, and pass hard Sentences upon the state of their Ancestors, Relations and beloved Friends.

4thly, That Men are naturally wedded to their Lusts, and bear a passionate affection to the Pleasures and Enjoyments of the World; and therefore that which suddenly prevails upon them to renounce them all, must be of greater power and more prevailing efficacy than the temptations of the World.

5thly, That 'tis not easie to prevail with Men to quit a present and important Interest, only in hopes of future Good, or to expose themselves to the worst of Sufferings in confirmation and pursuance of those hopes, without the most concluding grounds of hope, much less in contradiction to them.

6thly, That Men of the lowest Birth and Education, and such as were great Sufferers both in their Reputation and their Persons, were Men unlikely to prevail upon many Persons of all Sorts and Conditions, Ages and Sexes, to quit their Religion and their habitual Lusts, their
worldly

worldly Interests, alluring Pleasures, and espoused Tenets, much less their Lives and dearest Relatives, to expose themselves to those Evils which are most contrary to the desires of humane Nature, and to the designs of natural Men. And,

Lastly, That when the greatest Princes and Potentates, edg'd by the keenest Malice, and assisted by the Arts of Wit and Policy, Learning and Eloquence, and driving on profess'd designs to ruin and extirpate the Doctrine, Faith and Persons of such inconsiderable Men, whose Faith enjoind them to endure all Afflictions without the least disturbance of the Civil Government, or opposition to their Cruelty, and whose Practice was agreeable to their Faith; I say, when Persons of so great Ability and Wisdom, by all their Subtilty and Power, and all their other Arts engaged against them, only encreased the number of those Men whose utter extirpation they so zealously and so incessantly pursued, 'tis rational to conclude, as they affirmed, that a more powerful hand was on their side, and that *God had chosen the foolish things of the World to confound the wise, and weak things to confound the mighty.*

In

In confirmation of this Argument it may deserve to be considered, that tho' the Wisdom of the *Heathen* Philosophers had nothing in it that seemed much to thwart the Affections or Inclinations of Mankind, albeit their Divinity did not reproach what their Fore-fathers owned, but was consistent with, and did establish all those Modes of Worship which had obtain'd in every Country; albeit it met with nothing to oppose and persecute the first Abettors and Promoters of it, but was encouraged by *Kings* and *Princes*, and had all the advantages of Art and Rhetorick to set it off, the endeavours of the smoothest Pens and subtlest Heads to recommend it to the World; yet could it not present it with any thing so well accommodated to our natural Apprehensions, or any thing so worthy of a Deity, and so entirely suited to advance the Welfare of Mankind, as are the *Christians* Faith and Precepts; nor yet obtain and spread it self in many hundred Years through any places of those barbarous Nations in which the Gospel flourished in the *Apostles* Days, but in its flourishing Condition was confined to *Greece*, and *Italy*, where it either vanish'd of its own accord, or else concluded in *Scepticism*, or *Epicurism*, the most flourishing and lasting of all Sects,
faith

faith *Cicero* ; or was eclipsed by the appearing of the Gospel-light ; and whilst it flourished most, it is apparent from the complaints, confessions, and declarations of their greatest Sages, as well as *Christian* Writers, how ineffectual it was to work a Reformation in the World ; how few of those who were the greatest Masters of it lived according to what they wrote ; how rare a thing it was to find a *Polemo* or *Phædon*, or any other Person whose Reformation it had wrought ; on which account the *Apostle* triumphantly enquires, *Where is the Wise-man, where is the Disputer of the World ?* What have they done in order to the Reformation of Mens Lives, or the Instruction of their Understandings, comparatively to that which they are pleased to call *the foolishness of Preaching ?* Since then the *Christian* Doctrine, tho' stript of all these fair advantages which might commend it to the World, and clogg'd with all the prejudices forementioned, did in the space of forty Years make so large a diffusion of it self through many places where scarce the Name of a *Philosopher* was known ; and since it wrought so admirable a change and reformation in the Lives, Customs, Manners, Laws, and Conceptions of so many Myriads, it may be rationally thought to be derived from that
superiour

superiour Power to which the *Heathen* ways of Worship did in vain pretend. Add to this, that none of their *Philosophers*, or of their chief Admirers, would suffer for the truth of their Assertion, or seal it with their Blood ; none did pretend their Doctrine derived from Heaven, or that they had received the gift of Tongues, or of the Holy Ghost, in order to the confirmation or the propagation of it to succeeding Generations ; whence 'tis evident they wanted all those Motives and Arguments of Credibility which *Christianity* affords us.

F I N I S.

588

... ..

MUSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM



